HISTORY
of
THE FIRST PENNSYLVANIA STATE NORMAL SCHOOL

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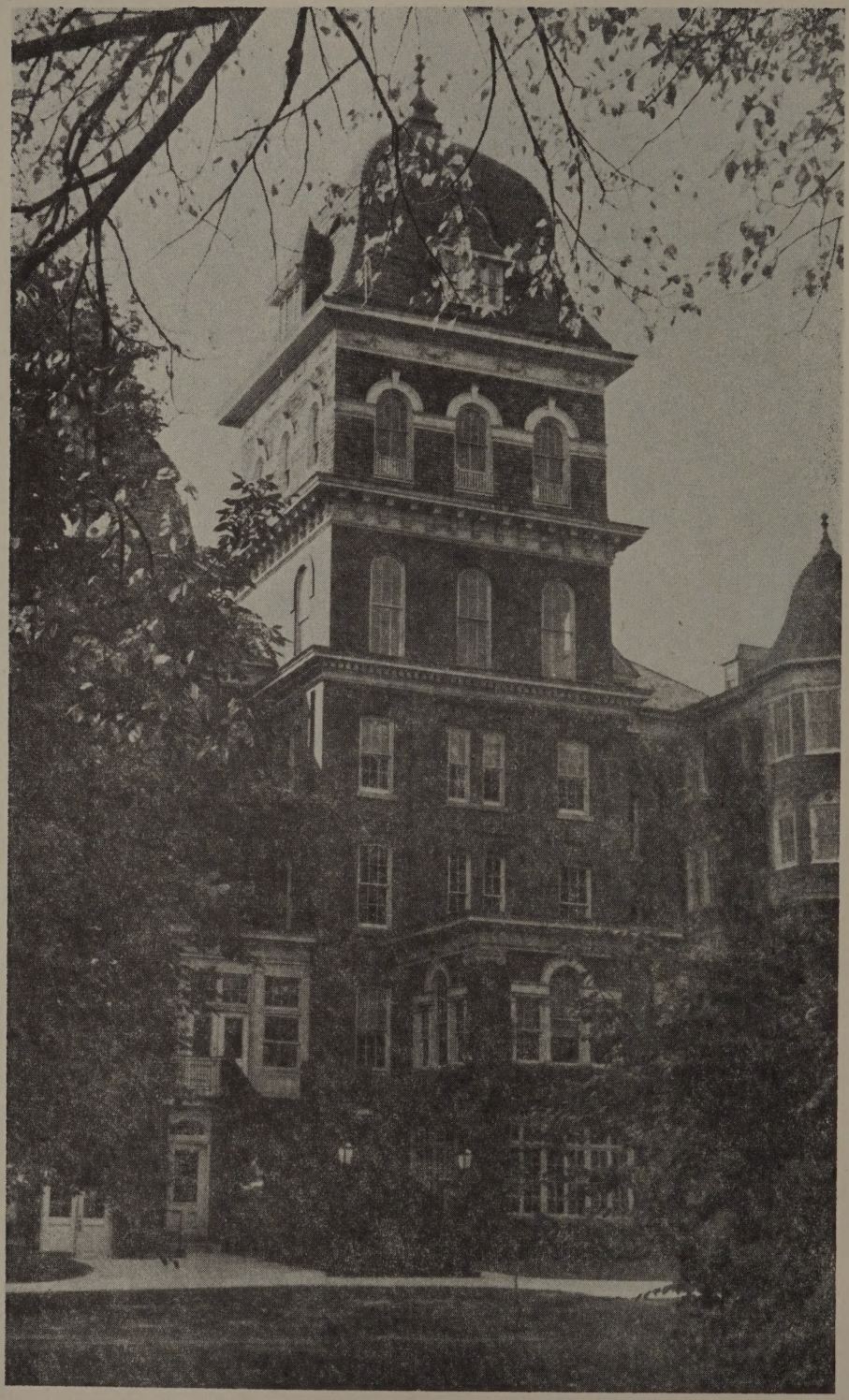

CHAPEL AND ADMINISTRATION BUILDING
ERECTED IN 1875

A HISTORY
OF
THE FIRST PENNSYLVANIA STATE NORMAL SCHOOL

Now The State Teachers College at Millersville

by
LEE GRAVER

State Teachers College
Millersville, Pennsylvania
1955

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PREFACE

A History of the First Pennsylvania State Normal School was originally written as a doctoral dissertation with more than 1,400 footnote citations. In adapting the study for publication in its present form, the historical narrative remained essentially unchanged, but footnotes and other characteristics of a graduate dissertation were not considered essential to this centennial history, the publication of which was sponsored by the Millersville State Teachers College.

The contents of the book are entirely the responsibility of the author and were accepted in their entirety by the College with only such changes in form as would render the study more suitable as a centennial history.

Dr. D. L. Biemesderfer, Dean Sanders P. McComsey, Mr. Harry C. Symons, and the Staff of the Millersville State Teachers College were exceedingly cooperative and the author wishes to express his deep appreciation of the numerous courtesies extended to him. The author had full and unrestricted access to any and all records in the possession of the College. As is indicated in the Bibliography, the sources are extensive and are practically all conveniently located in Lancaster County and eastern Pennsylvania.

The writer owes a special debt to his wife, Virginia Rapp Graver, who did all the typing and ably assisted with the research.

LEE GRAVER

Nazareth, Pennsylvania
October, 1954

THE OLD CHAPEL
1878

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CHAPTER I

The Rise of The Lancaster County Normal School

INTRODUCTION

THE Pennsylvania Free School Act of 1834 provided the machinery by which public schools were to be set up throughtout the state. In spite of the best efforts of Thomas H. Burrowes[1] in the last two years (1837-1839) of his term as Superintendent of Common Schools and the efforts of his successors, the common school system did not achieve the success that was anticipated by Governor George Wolf who signed the bill. Slightly more than half of the 987 school districts in the state accepted the Free School Act of 1834 within the first year after its passage. Campaigns to secure acceptance of the School Law of 1834 continued for many years. Even as late as 1848 several townships in the county of Lancaster, and a considerable number of districts elsewhere, had done virtually nothing to establish public schools. West Cocalico Township in Lancaster County did not begin to take an interest in common schools until 1860.

According to James P. Wickersham, the common schools that were established in increasing numbers after 1835 were, with some exceptions, poorly housed and poorly taught. The increase was measured in quantity rather than quality. Practically all the reports of the superintendents of common schools discuss the poor state of the schools. The many religious denominations in Pennsylvania, many of which believed that the church-connected schools were all that was needed, did not hasten the growth of well-taught, free and public schools.

A MID-CENTURY EDUCATIONAL AWAKENING

By the middle of the century an educational awakening among the teachers and citizens throughout the state slowly became evident. This awakening was expressed in the form of institutes, teachers' associations, conventions, a vigorous and effective school journal, newspaper interest in better education, and in the acceptance of county supervision.

In 1850 a notable convention of lay leaders and a few teachers met at Harrisburg to further the cause of the common schools. Every part of the state was represented. Thomas H. Burrowes was the tem-

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1 Thomas H. Burrowes was a Lancaster lawyer and politician of whom little was expected by the friends of public school education when he was appointed to the combined office of Secretary of State and Superintendent of Common Schools in 1835 by Governor Ritner. He occupied his office only a short time when he became convinced of the necessity for better public schools and a system of teacher training. Mr. Burrowes never deviated from his early decision that better schools must come in large part through a better system of teacher training.

porary chairman of the convention and chairman of the business committee. This notable convention, which included several members of the Legislature, a future governor, and other outstanding citizens, went on record as favoring two state normal schools, the organization of teachers' institutes and associations in each county, the creation of a separate department of education, the publication of a common school journal, and the establishment of the county superintendency. This constituted the major educational program for Pennsylvania for the next ten years, although the order was somewhat changed. State normal schools were not established until the teachers' institutes, the teachers' associations, the school periodicals, and the county superintendency had an opportunity to play their important roles.

It is generally recognized that teachers' institutes originated in Connecticut in 1839 under the direction of Henry Barnard. They spread to New York in 1842 and to Ohio in 1845. From New York and Ohio the institutes had slowly crept across the borders into Pennsylvania. At about the same time, teachers' associations had been formed here and there in Pennsylvania for the discussion of problems of mutual interest. By the early fifties both teachers' institutes and associations were clearly identified and noticeably active in Pennsylvania.

In the organization of a county educational association and in the establishment of institutes, Lancaster County stood among the leaders of the state. The Lancaster County Educational Association was formed in August of 1851 by a group of about thirty teachers who met at the call of John C. Martin, a teacher of Penn Township. James P. Wickersham, the Principal of the Marietta Academy, was chairman of the committee that drew up the constitution.

In November of 1852, the Lancaster County Educational Association meeting in Strassburg resolved to hold a teachers' institute for the improvement of instruction. Thomas H. Burrowes had suggested the idea of an institute to the Lancaster County Educational Association after having worked with instructors from Ohio at an institute held in Indiana County earlier in the same year. As a result of the action of the county association, the first institute in Lancaster County and the first in the eastern part of the state was held at Lancaster in January of 1853.

This Institute was of one week's duration and formed a vital link in the chain of circumstances that led to the Lancaster County Normal School. Thomas H. Burrowes was elected President of the Institute and James P. Wickersham, Principal of Marietta Academy, and L. M. Hobbs, a teacher in Manor Township, were elected Vice Presidents. Burrowes and Wickersham in large part organized the Institute. Andrew M. Frantz and one or two other future members of the Board of Trustees of the Lancaster County Normal School were present and active. More

than one hundred fifty teachers were present during part of the week. The instructors included David Parsons of Ohio, James P. Wickersham, Andrew M. Frantz, several ministers of the gospel, including the Reverend John C. Crumbaugh, who in 1856 became the Superintendent of Common Schools in Lancaster County, and several local academy principals. The Institute unanimously adopted the resolutions offered by Mr. Wickersham. They provided for the office of county superintendent, state support of teachers' institutes, a minimum school term of six months instead of three months, and the establishment of two or more state normal schools.

Institutes were organized to serve a limited purpose. A resolution of 1853 states "That in the absence of Normal Schools, Teachers Institutes recommended themselves to us as the cheapest and most efficient means of obtaining instruction in the principles of Teaching, and fostering a just professional spirit." In the same session it was recognized that a very essential step toward the realization of normal schools was the promotion and advancement of the *Pennsylvania School Journal* and other means of enlightening both teachers and citizens. The standard press was to be cultivated. Before much progress could be made, it was necessary to establish the county superintendency to supervise the common school system in the counties and to bring a larger measure of order into the common schools.

Teachers' periodicals were published from time to time in Pennsylvania, but before 1852 none continued for a sufficiently long time to make a noticeable impression. However, after institutes and teachers' associations became more common, it was natural to expect that educational periodicals would be established. In January of 1852 the Lancaster County Educational Association suggested the establishment of a periodical that was designed for the county and was edited by Thomas H. Burrowes. Its value was recognized almost immediately and from the beginning was read and circulated beyond the confines of the county. By the middle of the year the *School Journal* was enlarged to meet the growing need for such a periodical and in a comparatively short time spread across the state and into other states as well. Thomas H. Burrowes had been Superintendent of Common Schools and enjoyed a wide reputation as a firm friend of the common schools and better teacher preparation in spite of the political scandal that had touched his office of Secretary of the Commonwealth. Wickersham, who with Burrowes, had been one of the founders of the Lancaster County Educational Association in 1851, stated without reservation that the influence of the *Pennsylvania School Journal*

> . . . in creating more general interest in the cause of education, in originating and shaping measures for the good of the schools, in making itself the organ of teachers and school officers throughout the State, and the medium by which the proceed-

ings of their meetings were made known to the public, can hardly be overestimated.

A systematic reading of the *Journal* leaves no doubt as to the accuracy of Wickersham's estimate.

With the growth of local associations and institutes and the establishment of a well-edited school journal, it was not long before the first state association of teachers was organized in a convention at Harrisburg in December of 1852. Both James P. Wickersham and Thomas H. Burrowes, a Lancaster lawyer and school director, were present and active in the proceedings of the convention, the latter being elected permanent president. As reported by the *Pennsylvania Telegraph*:

> The convention was composed of an able body of men, most of them young, and just engaging in the career of life. But it was most cheering to find that they possessed a due appreciation of the responsibilities intrusted to them, a proper energy to perform the duties of their trust, and an ardent desire to advance the progress of education in our State. Our hopes were cheered by the talent and spirit manifested by the Convention.

The questions most vigorously discussed by the new state association and the *Pennsylvania School Journal* dealt with the establishment of an independent state department of education, the county superintendency, and normal schools supported by the state as in Massachusetts and Connecticut.

THE COUNTY SUPERINTENDENCY AND THE NEED FOR TEACHER TRAINING INSTITUTIONS

Friends of the common schools had a strong ally in the new Democratic Governor, William Bigler, who had enjoyed only the limited advantages of a common country school in Columbia County, but who saw clearly the advantages of improved common schools and better trained teachers. Bigler's two successive Superintendents of Common Schools were lawyers by profession and had both served in the state senate. Their active support, therefore, was of much practical help in the next great step of securing the enactment of a law providing for common school supervision under a county superintendent. The school bill of 1853, prepared with the aid of suggestions from Thomas H. Burrowes and Bishop Alonzo Potter, provided among other things for the office of county superintendent and for two normal schools at a cost not to exceed $2,500 for buildings and grounds for each school. No official consideration was given to the bill by the Legislature of 1853.

The following year the bill was, with some modifications, introduced earlier in the session and was pushed more vigorously. The section

dealing with normal schools was promptly struck out by the Senate and strong attempts were made to cripple the section relating to county superintendents. With strong administration backing and the able support of Dr. Jonas R. McClintok of Allegheny County, chairman of the Education Committee in the Senate, and Edward C. Darlington of the *Lancaster Intelligencer,* the bill was, with much effort, pushed through the Senate by a vote of only sixteen to fifteen. In the House the county superintendency was scarcely more popular than in the Senate and after a number of attempts to hamstring the provision concerning county supervision, the bill passed by a vote of fifty-three to thirty-six. A motion to exempt the counties of Lehigh, Crawford, Monroe, Berks, Montgomery, Mercer, Venango, Bucks, Cambria, Westmoreland, Fayette, and Northampton, though supported by the unanimous vote of the delegations from those counties, was lost by the close vote of thirty to thirty-five. Five predominantly Pennsylvania German counties were among the above opponents of county supervision. Another provision making the position optional with the conventions of school directors was lost by forty-six to forty-nine votes. The county superintendency was not a party measure, both Whigs and Democrats having split on the issue.

When the conventions of school directors met in the various counties according to law to elect county superintendents, a number of them had no interest in selecting capable and suitable men. Nearly a dozen clergymen, three or four lawyers, three or four doctors, and several farmers, who planned to alternate superintending in winter with farming in summer, and a number of superannuated teachers were selected. The salaries were extremely low in many cases, ranging from fifty dollars per annum in Sullivan County to fifteen hundred dollars in Lancaster County. The importance of the selection of county superintendents lies not so much in the appointment of many unfit men to office as in the selection of a number of intelligent and experienced men. James P. Wickersham stands high among these capable men.

The three newspapers in Lancaster were friendly toward the office of county superintendent. The *Examiner and Herald* in an editorial regarded the coming election of superintendents as "a matter of very considerable importance" and pointed out that the selection of a capable and energetic superintendent might confer a greater benefit upon the cause of popular education than any act since the establishment of the system in 1834. Long letters favorable to the office were published in the Lancaster papers, but none are to be found that were unfavorable to county supervision.

All districts except two were represented at the school directors' convention in Lancaster County. Seven men were considered, but Wickersham led with 122 votes to 35 for his nearest rival. In fact it was a foregone conclusion in the convention that he would be elected.

The convention offered one thousand dollars in salary, which was the top level of salary for all the other counties. Marietta Academy was reported to have yielded Wickersham an income of eighteen hundred dollars per year. He refused the proffered salary, whereupon the convention by vote of one hundred five to ninety-eight raised the offer to fifteen hundred dollars, which was accepted. The editor of the *Examiner and Herald* explained the unusually high salary, five hundred dollars higher than any other in the state, to the people of the county in language they could understand. He pointed out that very often a farmer will pay one hundred fifty dollars for a horse when others are available for one hundred dollars, knowing from experience that the one hundred fifty dollar horse is usually cheaper in the end. The editorial went on to say that a "competent man at that price was cheaper than an incompetent man at half the money." Besides, the incidental expenses would amount to about six hundred dollars. The *Saturday Express* was equally well satisfied with our "able county Superintendent," who promptly proceeded to offer for sale his prosperous academy.

The state school officers promptly called the county superintendents to Harrisburg for briefing on their new and responsible positions. Thomas H. Burrowes was not a superintendent, but was so highly regarded that, on special motion, he was invited to take a seat and participate in the proceedings, which he did. Contacts with men like Wickersham, the state school officers, Governor Pollock, Thomas Burrowes, and the officers of the State Education Association were contagious and a number of the county superintendents naturally performed their tasks in a more satisfactory manner than had at first been anticipated.

The opposition to the county superintendency, however, did not abate and a repeal of the law creating the office was prevented by a dangerously narrow margin. The Legislature was deluged with petitions against the office. Even in Lancaster County there was some prejudice against the office. The enthusiastic efforts of Superintendent Wickersham and his successor, the Reverend John Crumbaugh, slowly whittled away at those prejudices and after the reelection of Crumbaugh in 1857, the office was recognized as having proven itself and was considered to be firmly established. The county convention of school directors passed a resolution "praising the new law of 1854 as inaugurating a new era in the public school system."

In many other parts of the state the opposition to the superintendency was considerably more determined. In fact, in Lancaster County there never was any real danger that the office might be abolished or hopelessly crippled. In the sessions of the Legislature of 1855 the opposition was vigorous and dangerous. Many members of the Legislature returned with specific instructions to vote for repeal. The *Pennsylvania School Journal* took the position that the best thing to do was to present the favorable features of the office and to refrain from attacking

the repeal movement directly, believing that "facts are the best arguments in such a case." Andrew G. Curtin, the Superintendent of Common Schools, followed the same reasoning and called a second convention of the county superintendents to meet in the capitol building April 11, 1855. Members of the Legislature were invited to the meetings which were well publicized and which presented in detail the constructive work of J. P. Wickersham and other county superintendents. Governor James Pollock was not quite as soft spoken and conciliatory as his Superintendent of Common Schools, and informed the convention quite positively that he did not entertain the thought of taking a backward step. Dr. McClintock of the Senate Education Committee assured the convention that "a barrier has been erected in the Senate—whatever vandal blow shall threaten—strong and high enough to resist assault," against the county superintendency. The majority in the House, which stood for repeal, was blocked by the Senate and the Governor and the work of earnest friends of common school supervision. Resistance to the office continued, however, until 1857 and later, but the virulence of the assault was no longer considered critically dangerous after 1857.

Considerable importance was attached to the office of county superintendent by Wickersham, who regarded it as the biggest single step in the movement toward state normal schools. The annual examinations of the county superintendents high-lighted the limited preparation or lack of preparation of the majority of public school teachers. County superintendents not only exposed the inadequate preparation of the teachers, but also in most instances encouraged the teachers to supply the deficiency. Institutes promptly established by the majority of superintendents could do only part of the work. It was recognized by the educators and many other leaders throughout the state that normal schools were the prime requisite in overcoming the deficiency in teacher preparation that had been emphasized by the county superintendents.

THE MILLERSVILLE ACADEMY, 1854

The Honorable John H. Landis, a Trustee of the Millersville State Normal School, published in the now defunct *Millersville Herald* the only account that can be found of the earliest movement that finally grew into the first state normal school of Pennsylvania. In the autumn of 1851 the Manor Township School Board held an examination for teachers at Mann's Tavern located at Central Manor, as was its custom for a number of years. Mr. Christian B. Herr, popularly known as King Herr or King of the Manor, attended the meeting for the purpose of securing a good teacher for the school near his home. King Herr was a public spirited citizen, a wealthy farmer, and for many years president of the Lancaster County National Bank. It was at Mann's Tavern that he met L. M. Hobbs, who had come from New York about

three years previously and who made a very favorable impression on the "King of the Manor." Mr. Hobbs was persuaded to take the school near the farm of Mr. Herr, which was located a few miles from Millersville (also then known as Millerstown.) The young New York teacher taught for one term to the complete satisfaction of Mr. Herr.

While teaching the country school, which he named Rural Hall and which is still known by the same name today, Mr. Hobbs lived at the spacious home of Mr. Herr. During the long winter evenings the two men sat by the fire and talked. While talking about better schools they together conceived the idea of holding a summer school in Millersville for the accommodation of such persons in Manor and the adjoining townships as desired a better education than the meagre public schools of the day afforded. The summer school was opened in 1852 in the public school building, which in later years was converted into a barn and used by Dr. J. H. Pickle to house his horses.[2]

Mr. Hobbs' work as a teacher in Millersville was a success, and during the years of 1852 and 1853 he and Mr. Herr visited a number of the leading men in Millersville and the vicinity presenting the idea of establishing a permanent school. They met with sufficient success to call a meeting in the school house mentioned above early in the spring of 1854 to launch the new school. The building was not crowded. Six citizens were chosen as a committee on location to secure the land necessary for the Select School, as Mr. Hobbs designated it. The committee consisted of Jonas B. Martin, Barton B. Martin, Jacob Barr, John Brady, D. S. Bare, and Jacob Shenk. A tract of five acres located east of the turnpike and now occupied by several residences and the Model Junior High School was offered by Jacob Shenk. A tract of two and one half acres lying on the west side of Middle Street was offered by Barton B. Martin.

The choice of the committee was a tract of seven and one-half acres at the corner of Frederick and George Streets, then owned by a Mrs. Graybill and now a part of the present campus. The committee feared that on account of prejudice Mrs. Graybill might not sell the land. However, Jonas B. Martin, the youngest member of the group, was designated to call on Mrs. Graybill for the purpose of arranging a purchase. Mr. Martin, with the exercise of the utmost tact, secured her promise to sell the seven and one-half acres of land, including an old stone house that had housed a small distillery. He reported back to the committee the same day and was instructed to close the deal without delay, which he did the following day. At once the members of the

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2 The brick school house originally stood a few feet to the north of the present tobacco shed on the property formerly owned by Dr. J. H. Pickle, and now occupied by his son, Wilbur Pickle. More than fifty years ago the brick school building was torn down and the salvaged bricks were used in the construction of the present shed to the west of the tobacco shed on the Pickle property on Frederick Street.

Location Committee organized into a Building Committee. The names of the committee members were inscribed on a plaque that was placed in the wall of the old academy building. In 1909 the plaque was removed to the wall of the present chapel.

A short time later such well-known names as Abraham Peters, Jacob M. Frantz, Christian B. Herr, Jacob Seitz, and others were added to the list of Trustees. Among them were seven farmers, two hotel keepers, two bank presidents, one county commissioner, one miller, one member of the state House of Representatives, and one state Senator. It seemed to Dr. P. M. Harbold altogether likely that the additional names were added in order to add prestige to the school, to sell stock, and to induce more pupils to attend the school.

The Millersville Academy was launched in 1854, the same year that Wickersham became Superintendent of the Lancaster County Schools. The Reverend John B. Dennison of Lancaster offered to draw plans for the building to be constructed and his services were promptly accepted. L. M. Hobbs, who originally came from New York state and who was familiar with the work done at the Albany Normal School, was the moving spirit in the enterprise. According to Hobbs, the original plan was to erect a building for a "Select School," or academy, in Millersville and to pay for the initial construction by means of stock. Mr. Hobbs was to be in charge of the school, paying six percent on the original investment as rental for the building, with the privilege of redeeming the stock out of earnings.

The Building Committee contributed of its financial means and labor to forward the plan of the academy. Barton B. Martin, the man of the largest means, contributed the most money, but the others contributed in proportion to their means. The construction of the three-story brick building was a cooperative enterprise. One of the committee supervised the construction of the building, another sent a team of horses, others carried the stock subscription list (which is no longer to be found) from door to door of the thrifty villagers and the substantial farmers, many of whom lived in large well-built houses and had money in bonds and in the banks. The academy building was completed in 1855 and Mr. Hobbs, who had largely originated the idea of an advanced school, was to be the principal "even though he was not," in the words of Dr. Edward Brooks, "a man of great learning."

Without the presence of James P. Wickersham and Thomas H. Burrowes, the "old War Horse of the Common School System," in Lancaster County, the Millersville Academy might have been just another village academy, flourishing for a brief span of time before the high schools and normal schools became established and then quietly passing off the scene as did Marietta, White Hall, Mt. Joy, Strassburg, and other academies that flourished in Lancaster County in the 1850's.

Wickersham was very early convinced of the need for teacher training, and soon after his first series of examinations throughout the county, announced his intention of establishing a school for teachers, most of whom were sadly in need of more education. Thomas H. Burrowes had been advocating teacher training since his first incumbency of the office of Secretary of State and Superintendent of Common Schools, the two offices being combined until 1857.

J. P. WICKERSHAM AND THE LANCASTER COUNTY NORMAL INSTITUTE, 1855

Lancaster was the first county in eastern Pennsylvania to hold a teachers' institute, and in the first half-year of Wickersham's superintendency three institutes were held at Mt. Joy, Hinkletown, and Strassburg, the three centers being conveniently located for all the teachers of the county. Wickersham seemed to fit the description of the satisfactory county superintendent as presented by one of the friends of education in a letter to the editor of the *Lancaster Examiner and Herald*. Lancaster County needed "a faithful, zealous, county superintendent who knows the people, their wants, their habits, and modes of thought, who can write and speak well, and who has judgment enough not to push matters too fast."

Wickersham took every occasion possible to advance by tongue and pen the interests of teacher training, and the most readily available tools at that time to advance those interests were the comparatively new teachers' institutes. To make the institutes as acceptable as possible to the many poorly educated teachers, boards of education were encouraged by Superintendent Wickersham to grant their employees full pay while in attendance. By October 24, 1854, Wickersham was able to add to his advertisements in the Lancaster newspapers the statement that "many boards have given the teachers in their employ the privilege of attending without any deduction of time or pay." The advertisements also reminded the teachers that "no teacher who has the good of his profession at heart will be absent." One of the three institutes advertised for the fall of 1854 was held at Hinkletown on November 16, 1854, where seventy-three teachers were present out of a possible ninety-nine. After a successful series of meetings covering two days, a Mr. J. C. Martin offered the following resolution, which after discussion, was unanimously adopted:

> That we recommend to our worthy county superintendent the propriety of calling a county Teachers' Institute to continue in session for the term of three months, at as early a period as he may think proper.

This resolution gave County Superintendent Wickersham the encouragement he needed in view of the fact that it fitted into his plans for advancing the educational development of the teachers. Burrowes,

in an article in *Barnard's Journal of Education* (June, 1866), claimed credit for having persuaded Wickersham to accept the idea without delay. Wickersham had only two weeks to wait for further encouragement at the Mt. Joy Institute on November 30, 1854. Mr. Hobbs, the moving force behind the Millersville Academy and a teacher in one of the Manor Township schools located in Millersville, moved that a committee be appointed with representatives from each district to meet with similar committees from the Hinkletown and Strassburg areas to confer on the matter of institutes. The motion was adopted by the ninety teachers present. They also expressed strong approval of the work of the County Superintendent. The suggestion of Mr. Hobbs that there be cooperative action on a county-wide basis was seconded on January 13, 1855, by the Lancaster County Educational Association, which recommended that three district institutes be held as in 1854, when meetings were held at Strassburg, Mt. Joy, and Hinkletown, in addition to a three-month session first proposed by the seventy-three teachers at Hinkletown. The County Superintendent took occasion, even before the County Educational Association meeting in January, to discuss with anyone who would listen, the prospect of an institute of three months' duration.

The County Superintendent had been searching for a suitable and available building for an institute of the type called for at the Hinkletown meeting. In an address in one of the school houses at Millersville to the citizens and teachers of the area, Wickersham discussed the three-month institute and the problem of a building to house the new school. He pointed out that a building was available in Lancaster but that it was not suitable to his purpose. Apparently the speech delivered at the Millersville school planted a new idea in the mind of L. M. Hobbs, that the holding of the proposed three-month institute would be a good advertisement for the new academy that was nearing completion. The proposition was presented to the Academy Trustees who approved of the proposed offer of their building for temporary teacher-training purposes. After the approval of the offer by the Trustees, Mr. Hobbs set out on the trail of Wickersham, and after two days of travel by horse and buggy, found the Superintendent in a distant part of the county. Mr. Hobbs explained that the Trustees would agree to have the building ready for occupancy, would charge nothing for its use, and would support the enterprise further with money.

Mr. Wickersham was naturally favorably impressed with the offer and made an appointment to meet the Academy Trustees, who pledged themselves individually that a sum of $1,000 would be made available to assist in meeting the expenses of the institute. The Trustees further offered to accommodate in private homes all the members of the proposed institute who could not be housed in the Academy building. These successful arrangements were reported in the *Pennsylvania School*

Journal with considerable enthusiasm and with the prophetic expectation that the opening of the three-month institute would mark a new "era in the educational history of the county." By February 24, 1855. a preliminary circular had been prepared and published in one of the Lancaster weeklies. The circular was referred to in an editorial in the *Saturday Express* that was typical of the favorable attitude of the Lancaster papers toward County Superintendent Wickersham and toward the advancement of teacher education:

> . . . It will be seen that Professor J. P. Wickersham, our efficient and indefatigable county superintendent of common schools, has made arrangements to open a Normal Institute . . . We regard Normal Schools as a great necessity in our educational system, and if the state will not establish them, enterprising individuals must lead the way. We hope so laudable a plan to elevate the profession of teaching will be liberally encouraged by the teachers of this and other counties . . .

The above preface expressing hope that the teachers would encourage "so laudable a plan," indicates that the writer seemed to understand that teachers needed a great deal of encouragement and that lethargy and apathy generally were serious enemies to advancemnt in education. The complaint was common that considerably more interest was displayed in farm buildings and agriculture than in school houses and education. A balanced and calm letter to the *Examiner and Herald* stated that in some cases in the county more consideration was given to the housing of farm animals than the housing of school children. The County Superintendent labored vigorously and yet at the same time cautiously against such apathy on the part of teachers and citizens. Even with enthusiastic encouragement, the Lancaster County teachers were not making application as rapidly as anticipated, even though they received special preference in the form of a five dollar tuition fee as contrasted with seven dollars and fifty cents for other teachers. The secretary publicly complained that he could not wait for the county teachers until the very opening of school.

The salaries paid the teachers in Lancaster County did not serve as much of an inducement to spend three months in a normal institute. For males the average salary per month was $24.29, and for females $19.65, for an average five-month term. This contrasted with $22.29 per month for males and $14.89 per month for female teachers throughout the state, and an average term of five and one-third months. At two dollars per week for room and board, five dollars for tuition, and five dollars for traveling, books, and incidentals, the total minimum cost would reach thirty-four dollars out of a total yearly income of $121.45 for males and $98.25 total yearly income for females. For the average teacher in Pennsylvania the cost of the institute for men would have been $37.50 out of a yearly salary of $118.88 and for women

$37.50 out of $79.42. With such handicaps, leadership of a high order was required to make the Institute even a moderate success.

By early March of 1855 the plans had matured to the point where a rather complete circular of information was issued and considered of sufficient importance by the *Pennsylvania School Journal,* edited by Thomas H. Burrowes, to publish it in detail. The Normal Institute was originally announced as opening on April tenth, but the date was changed to the seventeenth to enable Wickersham to take part in a meeting of county superintendents called by the Superintendent of Common Schools. In this meeting the Lancaster County Superintendent took a leading part, the discussions clearly indicating that his colleagues held him in high regard.

On April 17, 1855, the Lancaster County Normal Institute opened with James P. Wickersham as Principal and a peak of 147 teachers in attendance at Millersville. Lancaster County was one of the leaders in developing normal institutes in Pennsylvania, as will be seen in the next few pages.

Allegheny County announced a ten-week normal institute to open April 3, 1855, the object being to "afford teachers and all those wishing to become teachers, such facilities as will enable them to obtain a liberal, thorough, and practical Education." B. M. Kerr, the Superintendent of Allegheny County, had the idea of a normal institute for some time but, he, being a more timid man than Wickersham, was deterred by the fear of being accused of favoritism in recommending teachers from his own institute for positions in the county. When, however, he read Wickersham's announcement in the *Pennsylvania School Journal* of the opening of the Lancaster County Normal Institute, Mr. Kerr decided at once to open his own school with the thought that "to be in such company was at least an honor."

The Allegheny County Normal School in its first year was a disappointment to County Superintendent Kerr, attracting only forty teachers who were willing or able to pay the ten-dollar fee and the board for ten weeks.

The Berks County Normal School of "not more than three months" was hopefully announced by the Reverend William A. Good, Superintendent of Berks County Common Schools, but the results were not as high as the expectations. The Superintendent did most of the teaching, pronounced the meagre "trial" a success, and promptly gave his attention to bigger plans for a model and training school. This performance was quite remarkable when one stops to think that a wealthy farming county gave its county superintendent of common schools the low salary of $250 per annum, the lowest in the state for a county of comparable size and wealth. Lancaster County paid its county superintendent $1,500.

The Superintendent of Common Schools of Centre County early in 1855 announced a Centre County Normal School of three months' duration to begin in April. There was to be a model school and a training school under the principalship of Ira C. Mitchell, who was to receive assistance and moral support from the county superintendent. The County Superintendent's official report for the year states that the teaching was done by the principal and his wife and one assistant. No mention is made of the proposed model school and presumably there was none worthy of mention. "The effort in so many respects successful, was made under great disadvantages and discouragements."

Indiana County followed the example of Lancaster County and held a county normal institute in September of 1855. The County Superintendent, S. P. Bollman, was not distinguished for his forcefulness, as is amply evident from a reading of his reports, but he did decide after much consideration "that what others had done we could at least try." From seventy to one hundred eight teachers were in attendance at S. P. Bollman's Indiana County Normal School. These students were divided into three divisions, each of which recited six times per day, mostly on the common branches for which they were certified by the county superintendent. At three-thirty every day a general lecture on the Art of Teaching was delivered to the assembled students. No model school seemed to be present. Mr. Bollman enthusiastically proclaimed the efforts of Indiana County in proportion to teacher population as being more "strong and vigorous . . . than even Lancaster, the pioneer in Normal training in Pennsylvania," and with high hope for the future asserted that "the leaven, so largely diffused, will soon pervade the entire body of teachers."

Feeble efforts to conduct county normal schools were made in Perry and Potter Counties and elsewhere, in addition to the four county efforts just described.

The main reliance for teacher training, however, was placed on two and three-day teacher institutes which were held in most of the counties throughout the state. Many of the county superintendents repeatedly urged the establishment of normal schools, particularly state normal schools supported by the state after the pattern of Massachusetts. Nearly all dwelt at length on the meagre educational qualifications of the teachers and the low salaries that made it difficult for even the better teachers to remedy the defect. Few county superintendents were as energetic or as capable as Wickersham in recognizing the problem and then proceeding to do something about it. A perusal of many reports makes this conclusion inescapable. In fact, some county superintendents were appointed by conventions of school directors who were possessed of considerable apathy, if not hostility, to the idea of education, which to many of them meant raising taxes and they

were generally opposed to the raising of the tax rate. Some county superintendents were paid such extremely low salaries by the conventions of directors that it would have been quite impossible, because of necessary traveling and other expenses, to do satisfactory work even if they had most enthusiastically wished to do so. The recognition of these problems by the friends of education was general.

On April 17, 1855, after considerable difficulty in securing a capable corps of instructors, the Lancaster County Normal Institute formally opened its doors as the largest and, in almost every sense, the pioneer County Normal Institute in the state of Pennsylvania. Mr. Wickersham and his co-workers were completely aware of the fact that failure in the most important normal school effort in the state to date might set back the cause to a serious extent, while success in this most important county normal school was expected to decide public opinion in favor of the more extended professional education of teachers throughout the state. Mr. Wickersham was prepared to let the public know, through the medium of the press and platform, of any success that might be achieved. He seemed to be more aware than many of his colleagues of the need for the building or moulding of a favorable public opinion toward education.

The first faculty of the Lancaster County Normal Institute consisted of: J. P. Wickersham, A. M., Principal and Professor of the Theory and Practice of Teaching; John F. Stoddard, A. M., Professor of Mathematics; Cornelius Walker, A. M., Professor of Reading and Elocution; R. T. Cornwell, Professor of Grammar & C.; Swayne Wickersham, M. D., Professor of Chemistry and Physiology; Dr. Calvin Cutter, Dr. A. H. Grimshaw, and Professor James Thompson, Lecturers on various subjects of study; G. C. Hawthorn, Esq., Principal of the Eastern Model School; Amos Horst, Principal of the Western Model School; and L. M. Hobbs, Secretary.

James P. Wickersham served the Normal Institute most vigorously without compensation and regarded the work as part of his position as county superintendent. He frequently repeated in print the fact that no additional compensation was attached to the principalship, presumably to prevent the possibility of a suspicion of double compensation which might injure the normal school movement and his own reputation.

John F. Stoddard, the Professor of Mathematics, was a graduate of the Albany Normal School and was personally acquainted with the noted educator of that institution, David P. Page, whose book, *The Theory and Practice of Teaching,* is one of the classics in education. At the time of his first service in the Millersville institution he also occupied the position of Superintendent of the Common Schools of Wayne County, Pennsylvania. Previous to that he had been the president of an academy with the high-sounding title of the University of

Northern Pennsylvania located at Bethany (near Honesdale) in Wayne County. This institution was in financial straits. Professor Stoddard was the author of a series of arithmetic books—*The Mental Juvenile, The American Intellectual, Practical and Philosophical Arithmetic*—"all carefully designed to conduct the learner's initiatory steps by an easy and gradually progressive system to the more advanced attainments in mathematical science." The books sold widely in the state of New York and elsewhere and were a profitable publishing enterprise. In addition, Mr. Stoddard was a very active member of the Pennsylvania Educational Association and a very active institute lecturer and teacher. In 1854 and 1855 his name occurred with especial frequency and some of his articles and addresses appeared at length in the *Pennsylvania School Journal.* Edward Brooks, Principal of the Millersville State Normal School from 1866 to 1883, said that he (Stoddard) had made a most favorable impression on the teachers of the county and upon the citizens of Millersville.

Cornelius Walker served as Professor of Reading and Elocution but did not teach at Millersville beyond the first session of three months. He was well known as an institute lecturer. R. T. Cornwell was a last-minute substitute for Edward Brooks, who in turn was a substitute for S. T. Covell of Allegheny County. Mr. Covell had written a new textbook on grammatical analysis, the method of which Edward Brooks had introduced into the University of Northern Pennsylvania. When Covell died before the opening of the Normal Institute in April of 1855, Stoddard recommended Brooks, who tentatively accepted but could not secure a release from the principalship of the Monticello Academy in New York, whereupon R. T. Cornwell, one of Mr. Brooks' grammar students at the University of Northern Pennsylvania, was selected to fill the professorship of grammar. Dr. Swayne Wickersham, a brother to James P. Wickersham and a medical doctor, was selected to teach chemistry and physiology. Professor James Thompson of Pittsburgh and later a principal of the Edinboro State Normal School; Dr. Cutter, a leader in the Pennsylvania Education Association and the author of a series of texts in physiology and anatomy and originally a resident of Boston, Massachusetts; and Dr. Grimshaw of Wilmington, Delaware, each delivered a series of lectures.

Thomas H. Burrowes regarded the newly established Lancaster County Normal Institute as one of the fruits of the county superintendency and after a visit early in the session, declared that "these normal schools are indicative of a change in public opinion respecting the whole business of teaching, wrought by the passage of the School Law of 1854." Ten years later Burrowes deemphasized what he said here and insisted that his own advocacy of normal schools was the major factor in the rise of the normal schools. Wickersham likewise believed that this was a turning point in Pennsylvania educational history and most

readily agreed to the importance of the county superintendency as a major factor in the establishment of the Normal Institute.

In spite of the fact that the two hundred fifty persons mentioned in the preliminary circular of February, 1855, did not materialize, the Institute was opened with high hope and enthusiasm. As was true throughout the nineteenth century, the students did not all start the session on the seventeenth of April but enrolled at their convenience during a period of several weeks that followed the opening of the Institute. Altogether 147 students, including fourteen irregulars, were in attendance in the Normal Department. Of the 133 students whose names appear in the catalog, ninety-five were "gentlemen" and thirty-eight "ladies." (All students were designated as ladies and gentlemen in the nineteenth century.) The ninety-five gentlemen were distributed among the counties as follows: Lancaster, seventy-four; Lebanon, five; Wayne, two; Perry, two; and one each from Beaver, Cambria, Montgomery, Bucks, Dauphin, York, Susquehanna, Chester, Huntingdon, and Washington. New York state and Delaware were represented by one student each. Thirty-two of the thirty-eight ladies came from Lancaster County and six from Chester. It would have been logical to expect more students from the nearby counties, in view of the invitation to them through the pages of the *Pennsylvania School Journal.*

The entire Normal Institute was divided into four divisions and there is mention of only one lecture hall accommodating two hundred to two hundred fifty persons and two large classrooms above the lecture hall, in addition to boarding accommodations for fifty students and the housekeeper. The original building extended from a point seventy-four feet to the west of the southeast corner of the present boys' dormitory to the extreme end of the building as it stands today. The dividing line between the original building and the addition of late 1855 is visible to the left of the porch and entrance to the dean of men's apartment. That dividing line clearly indicates that the building was three stories high. The lecture hall occupied the first-floor space directly opposite the south entrance of the present boys' dormitory and was about forty feet square. In the wing to the left of the lecture hall and recitation rooms and on the third floor, were the lodging rooms for about fifty students and the housekeeper.

From eight to nine o'clock the students listened to a lecture on chemistry or physiology. Recitations extended from nine to twelve o'clock and from two to four. At four o'clock on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays the students assembled in the lecture hall to hear lectures on teaching, and on Tuesdays and Thursdays for lectures on natural philosophy. Notes were required on the lectures and furnished the basis for some of the recitations. However, an attempt was made to get away from the typical institute lecturing, considerable time and emphasis being laid on recitations and on practice in the model schools.

In view of the fact that the primary objective was to improve the work of common school teachers and, since one of the serious handicaps was a lack of mastery of the common school subjects, "a thorough course of instruction was given in all the branches usually taught in them [common schools] and also in several of the higher branches of an English education [chemistry for one]." In the primary emphasis on the mastery of the common school branches, the Normal Institute differed from the academies, which stressed the higher mathematics and languages.

A feature that was relatively new in Pennsylvania practice was the model school. None of the county normal schools previously mentioned as being set up in 1855 was as large as Millersville or had a successful model school. The two public schools of the unincorporated village of Millersville served as model schools with respective enrollments of one hundred twenty and seventy-two. The model-school phase of teacher training was considered very important by Wickersham and was regarded by him as more satisfactory than the Massachusetts practice of students teaching other students.

Every student received at least three days of instruction in the model school. When his turn came, the student went to the model school and spent three days there, one as assistant to the principal of the school, the second day as assistant in the primary department, and the third day in charge of the primary department. When the student reached the third day, he wrote a report on his assistant in the primary department. Every student was the subject of two reports, one by his student superior in the primary department, and one by Mr. Hawthorn or Mr. Horst, Principals of the East and West Model Schools respectively. The reports on the student teachers were read without identification on Saturday morning to the whole Normal Institute. Mr. Wickersham, or one of the other professors, freely called on individual students for discussions on methods employed or for comments on school government and other matters related to teaching.

Professor Wickersham had forty-eight districts to supervise and, therefore, quite logically sometimes employed circulars printed in the Lancaster papers to make announcements to the boards of education and also to inform the public. These circulars and other communications and addresses were always well written and generally optimistic. In one of these circulars he advised the directors that:

> The Success of our Normal School has exceeded my most sanguine expectations, and my opinion coincided with that expressed by all the friends of education who have witnessed its operation, that in no way, in so short a time, could so much have been done to advance the interests of common schools in Lancaster County.

The newspapers of Lancaster expressed approval of these and other educational movements sponsored by Wickersham. But as Wickersham stated in an address to the Lancaster County Educational Association, more effort was necessary to get legitimate school news published and to break through the intense interest in political affairs.

At the termination of the twelve weeks' session early in July of 1855, the closing exercises were held in a spirit of victory and prophecy. All of the student addresses and essays breathed optimism as did also the talks of the two ministers of the gospel and those of the faculty. In the afternoon the completely-filled hall was treated to eight student addresses, four student essays, and an "Ode to the Susquehanna" by Miss F. A. Jones, "all of which reflected great credit on the ladies and gentlemen concerned." "An able and eloquent discourse on the utility and advantages of normal schools" by the Reverend Mr. Crumbaugh, who later became superintendent of common schools in Lancaster County, ended the afternoon session.

In the evening, a commencement poem filled with sad thoughts of "pensive" recollections, "tearful" reunions on earth, and a "dream of dearer bliss" in Heaven for those who "filled their parts so nobly here," was read by Mary H. Schoch, who adorned her thoughts with "the sweet flowers of poesy." The commencement poem was followed by an address by the Reverend Dennison who spoke "at considerable length." The program proper, which began with an elaborate set of resolutions and ended with a student valedictory, was followed with valedictory comments by Principal Wickersham, "who has shown a zeal in the discharge of his high duties worthy of all praise," and by the professors. The three and four-hour closing exercises would seem like an ordeal to a modern audience, but they were well received by an audience without modern means of commercialized entertainment.

A PERMANENT LANCASTER COUNTY NORMAL SCHOOL, 1855

Professor Wickersham declared that the Normal Institute was so successful, and so recognized by others in the educational field, that the Trustees of the Academy decided to change their original plans before the end of the first Institute. The Trustees, reinforced by additional interested citizens of the area, now decided to enlarge the buildings and to erect a permanent county normal school. The students of the Normal Institute at the closing exercises hailed "with joy the prospect of the extension of these academy buildings for the purpose of establishing a permanent Normal Institute for Lancaster County with Professor J. F. Stoddard as Principal."

Before the idea of a permanent normal school could be consummated at Millersville, it was necessary to persuade L. M. Hobbs, the "prime-mover" in the academy movement, to relinquish his intention

of being the principal of the Millersville Academy. Dr. Brooks states that Thomas H. Burrowes performed this task and also persuaded Hobbs to cooperate in the new enterprise by becoming the steward of the proposed Lancaster County Normal School. Building operations were contemplated before the end of the Institute session in July and, with the particular encouragement of J. F. Stoddard and Thomas H. Burrowes, the large extension was nearly completed when the school opened for its first session as a permanent Lancaster County Normal School on November 5, 1855. An L-shaped addition extending seventy-four feet east and eighty feet north, containing "upward of seventy rooms" was erected and, joined with the old academy structure, made available a total of ninety-six rooms with accommodations for one hundred fifty to two hundred students and their teachers.

The faculty consisted of: John F. Stoddard, Principal and Professor of Mathematics and the Theory and Practice of Teaching; Edward Brooks, Professor of Grammar and Rhetoric; R. T. Cornwell, Professor of Natural Science; S. C. Agnew, Professor of Latin and Greek; Mrs. H. Marie Brooks, wife of Edward Brooks, teacher of Music; Miss Augusta Dart, teacher of Geography and Drawing; and L. M. Hobbs, Steward.

A remarkable change occurred in the curriculum as indicated by a detailed circular printed in the *Saturday Express* of Lancaster, Pennsylvania. It was still the intention of the Lancaster County Normal School, as was true of the Normal Institute, to attack the problem of training teachers in the common school branches and the art of teaching in a very brief time to take immediate charge of the hundreds of local one-teacher schools. That the need for such teachers was great is evident from the numerous advertisements in the papers. Manor Township, which included Millersville in its confines, alone advertised for twenty-two teachers, including two females, to take the county superintendent's examination for a provisional certificate in August of 1854. The circular listed a "Normal Department" and an "Academic Department," the instruction in the latter being advertised as of a "thorough, practical nature and well calculated to prepare individuals for the active business transactions of life, or for entering any of the advanced classes in college." The latter statement was slightly ambitious. The circular went on to say that the sessions would continue for twenty-two weeks and that the opening address would be made by the Honorable Thomas H. Burrowes, who was well known and respected in Lancaster County and in the state.

Tuition and other Expenses were listed as follows:

Common English Branches, per qr. 11 weeks	$6.00
Higher English Branches, per qr.	7.50
Latin & Greek Branches, extra each	2.00
French & German Branches	2.00
Penciling, Painting & drawing extra	3.00

Music—full lessons on the piano	8.00
Use of piano	1.00
Vocal Music	2.00
Board per week	2.00
Board and washing per week	2.25
Board, washing and lights, per week	2.50

Early in the session, the number of students was reported to be "about a hundred" with the number increasing from day to day to one hundred twenty. From the very beginning it was the practice at Millersville to accept students at almost any time or date in the session for almost any period of time longer than a month. However, later catalogs and publications urged students to begin their studies at the opening of the sessions if it was possible. The Normal School opened on November fifth but advertisements were still appearing at weekly intervals in December and at longer intervals in January and February. In other words, students were welcome at any time short of the closing on April second and third, when the regular examinations were held.

Some of the examinations at the end of sessions were oral and served as demonstrations for visitors who were invited to attend. Judging from the newspaper reports, they no doubt served a useful purpose in calling the school to the favorable attention of important people who accepted the invitations. Whenever possible, both Stoddard and Wickersham took the occasion to call the school favorably to the attention of the public. One such successful effort was the visit, by invitation, of Judge Hayes and the whole grand jury to the Lancaster County Normal School. The favorable publicity derived from such visits was considerable, a rather complete report appearing in the *Pennsylvania School Journal.* By such legitimate means and by an earnest instructional effort, the school was receiving a steady flow of favorable reports from county superintendents and other officials and friends of education. A few years later Judge Hayes joined the Board of Trustees at Millersville.

In the February and March, 1856, issues of Burrowes' *Pennsylvania School Journal,* advertisements appeared announcing the opening of a second Normal Institute for the teachers of Lancaster County, although it was "expected and much desired that several counties will unite in the effort." It was believed editorially that if five or six counties united to form a school of four or five hundred teachers, there would be a decided impetus given the statewide movement for state normal schools in addition to a better faculty being possible. Wickersham concentrated his attention on the new three-month Institute at the Lancaster County Normal School and held no local institutes in the county, presumably to advance the type of work done at Millersville.

Difficulties developed under the new arrangement in the spring of 1856. County Superintendent Wickersham brought a group of teachers

with him to Millersville for a normal institute and combined his group with the Normal School. According to his own statement, Wickersham was in charge of the permanent faculty, presumably temporarily displacing Stoddard, who still retained the title of principal. The official state journal spoke of the arrangement as a joint principalship. All the statements that appeared in the Lancaster papers and in the *Pennsylvania School Journal* expressed respect for the reputation and achievements of both Wickersham and Stoddard. The arrangement seemed to be awkward and the lines of authority not clear. At any rate, by May 10, 1856, the condition of the school was such, in the unanimous opinion of the Board of Trustees, assembled at the home of Thomas H. Burrowes, as "to render the separation of its Principal, J. F. Stoddard, indispensable to its continued prosperity."

It seems evident without being expressed in exact language that the main difficulty lay in the fact that the Lancaster County Normal School was headed by two strong and aggressive personalities, both of whom had been principals independently, one of the first session beginning April 17, 1855, and the other of the session beginning November fifth. A committee of Trustees was appointed to make arrangements with Professor Stoddard "in the event of his instant withdrawal or to investigate the matter if the latter desired it." The words and actions of the Board indicated haste. An addition to the minutes indicates that the strongly worded resolutions were not presented to Mr. Stoddard as originally decided "on account of the want of additional information on some points." The Board of Trustees was saved further concern by the resignation of Professor Stoddard before the full scale investigations got under way. The newspapers merely mentioned the resignation, and if they knew the nature of the situation, they did not exploit it.

Professor Wickersham continued as head of the school until the end of the session, while at the same time continuing his work as county superintendent.

The Board of Trustees immediately set to work finding a new principal and setting its financial house in order. On May 26, 1856, the Trustees had practically decided on the Reverend J. B. Pradt, whose activities as the Potter County Superintendent of Common Schools attracted statewide attention. Even though the Reverend Pradt received only $300 per year as superintendent in Potter County, the invitation to assume the principalship of the Lancaster County Normal School was declined. Consultations were held with Mr. Burrowes, Bishop Alonzo Potter, and other educational leaders. Candidates from "abroad" were carefully considered but only one unsuccessful invitation was actually issued.

J. P. Wickersham wished to continue his work as county superintendent, in which position he felt that he could advance the welfare

of education effectively, but considerable pressure was brought to bear on him from several directions. In the first place, his term as superintendent was due to expire in less than a year and a reappointment was not an absolute certainty, although specific opposition to him personally was not strong. There were, however, some people who were somewhat prejudiced against him because of his non-German origin and because of his failure to speak Pennsylvania German. He was of English extraction and a Quaker. His personal notes of observations in strictly German areas give a hint of impatience with too much emphasis on German, and quite likely the provincial Germans were a little impatient with Mr. Wickersham for not speaking the dialect. The county superintendency was still on trial. Petitions had been sent to the Legislature for the repeal of the law of 1854 creating the county superintendency. It was pointed out to him that, as head of the Lancaster County Normal School, he could do much to relieve the pressing problem of poorly-educated teachers and, as Wickersham himself recognized, his work in a pioneering institution would certainly be regarded as an example to be studied and in many cases would serve as a precedent.

Mr. Burrowes had used his influence to secure Wickersham's services as county superintendent and now that same persuasive influence was exerted in the direction of filling the Normal School principalship. Among other arguments, it was pointed out that the new position would lend itself to gaining a wide reputation, which no doubt carried some weight with Mr. Wickersham, who, like Burrowes, was not averse to gaining a reputation and receiving acclaim. This comment is not meant to belittle, but merely to point out a very noticeable characteristic of both men. Their accomplishments are greatly to be praised and respected. Perhaps if they had not enjoyed their roles as public leaders and had not been zealous in achieving reputations, their work might have been less noteworthy. Both were dynamic personalities. The author has not come across a record of a single meeting attended by Wickersham where he merely sat and listened. He was always mentioned as moving resolutions, commenting, making a speech, being consulted, being an officer, and in other ways being active in the proceedings. The fact that Professor Wickersham had not definitely refused the principalship encouraged the Board of Trustees to "solicit" Mr. Wickersham's services again, even though they knew that he was "disinclined" to become principal, partly because he felt that he would be accused of having ousted Mr. Stoddard to make room for himself. The "good news" of Wickersham's acceptance was announced at a Board meeting on June 16, 1856. His salary was set at $1,500, which was the same as that paid for the county superintendency. In reality, the change involved an increase in net income, in view of the fact that the expenses of the principalship were not as heavy as those of the superintendency.

In the session commencing April fourteenth, during which the difficulty with Principal Stoddard developed, there were 203 students present, sixty-nine ladies and one hundred thirty-four gentlemen. Of these, forty-six ladies and ninety-eight gentlemen came from Lancaster County, the remainder coming from seventeen other counties and New York and Maryland. No specific reference to a model school was found in the newspapers and in the catalog for the October session. Most of the students were teachers.

As was indicated before, Lancaster County was at this time absorbed in vigorous political discussions. The papers were literally filled with political news. The *Lancaster Intelligencer* vigorously supported Buchanan and the whole Democratic ticket of the state and county, while the *Examiner and Herald* just as enthusiastically supported the Fremont ticket and the new Republican slate, frequently referred to in the papers as the Union Ticket. The *Express* sniped at both papers and was a little overbalanced on the side of prohibition. With the papers taking strong positions in politics it behooved the authorities at the Normal School to stay entirely clear of such expressions as might gain for them the political enmity of any of the papers.

When Senator Charles Sumner was severely beaten on the floor of the U. S. Senate by Preston Brooks from South Carolina, an indignation meeting of teachers was held in the village of Millersville. A vehement resolution of condemnation and censure of Brooks was proposed and passed, without the aid of the Normal School professors, who prudently refrained from voting. For this action the Lancaster County Normal School was severely taken to task in a strongly-worded letter of about eighteen inches of fine print in the *Saturday Express.* The Normal School professors objected to the publication of the Sumner resolution on the basis that such publications would be interpreted as a political expression of the Institute, presumably because the meeting was held in the Normal School Hall, and exerted themselves to see that no further political expressions were made even by the student organizations. In the early and uncertain years of the Normal School, the principal and faculty carefully refrained from expressions and actions that could be interpreted as political and thus offensive to a large group among whom they counted many friends. This was undoubtedly a wise policy, even though they might be accused of a lack of courage and a disregard for humanity (in the Brooks-Sumner case) by a relatively few people. When the Normal School became firmly established and politics no longer absorbed the attentions of the people to the same degree, the professors took their rightful places as citizens and even in some cases acquired a reputation for being "ardent" Republicans or Democrats.

Even though Professor Wickersham did not participate in political organizations, he remained very active in the Lancaster County Edu-

cational Association, of which he had been president in 1853, and in it worked very closely with the Reverend John S. Crumbaugh, the new County Superintendent, and with Thomas H. Burrowes. As President of the Pennsylvania Teachers Association in 1856, the Principal of the Lancaster County Normal School was even more active in his fight for better schools and better teacher training. He enlisted the aid of the "venerable" Thomas H. Burrowes of Lancaster, the former Superintendent of Common Schools, in many of his normal-school activities. As will be seen in the next chapter, Burrowes played an important part in securing the Normal School Act of 1857, and encouraged the Board of Trustees at Millersville to initially accept the law.

CHAPTER II

The Normal School Act of 1857 and the Recognition of the First State Normal School in Pennsylvania

THE CONCEPT OF PRIVATELY-OWNED STATE NORMAL SCHOOLS

THOMAS H. BURROWES, State Superintendent Andrew G. Curtin, James P. Wickersham, and many county superintendents, had for years advocated state normal schools, chartered and supported by the State, as in Massachusetts, where state normal schools were established in 1839. The Legislature of Pennsylvania just as steadily ignored the suggestions, resolutions, and petitions that came to it from the State Teachers Association, the Lancaster County Educational Association, other county associations, the institutes, and a great variety of other sources. Burrowes had planned to bring the external influence of Henry Barnard to bear on the Legislature, but "the Pennsylvania Legislature was not readily amenable to outside pressure designed to shape its actions in respect to the normal school question."

In August of 1856, while on his way to the Williamsport meeting of the Pennsylvania State Teachers Association with President Wickersham, Burrowes communicated to the former his "matured" ideas of establishing normal schools without at first asking any

> pecuniary aid from the state and to be independent of state appointment or patronage . . . Feeling, however, the necessity for State authority in order to give professional and official value to the diplomas, it was determined if possible, to procure a law to authorize these institutions to issue diplomas, in like manner as in literary and other scientific and professional colleges, and also to exempt the teachers holding such diplomas from examinations in the branches enumerated in them, by County Superintendents. *Barnard's American Journal of Education,* 16:200, June, 1866.

As Burrowes described it, Mr. Wickersham did not say much and apparently was not at once convinced, for the latter did say several days later to the assembled county superintendents, that "State Normal Schools remain the great want of the System."

The following month (September 23, 1856) however, Wickersham wrote in his report to the Superintendent of Common Schools:

> If it be the duty of the state to educate its children, it can never have discharged that duty, until it shall have provided competent teachers for them . . .
>
> Nor is it my opinion that one or two or even half a dozen such schools [Normal Schools] can be so located as to accommodate conveniently the whole state. Ten or twelve will be needed to supply the demand; and, perhaps, the most judicious request that the friends of education could make of the Legislature, would be the passage of a general Normal School Law, imposing such conditions as might be deemed expedient, and making such appropriations as the present conditions of the state finances would admit, but leaving to private enterprise the erection of buildings and the establishment of the schools. Arguments suggest themselves in favor of this measure but I will not now press them.

This, of course, shows a distinct deviation from the previous ideas and may have been influenced by Mr. Burrowes as the latter implied. It is not entirely clear whether Mr. Burrowes led the movement away from state owned, controlled, and supported institutions or whether he shrewedly judged the direction of the force of opinion and placed himself at its head. Thomas D. McCormick says that Burrowes' "strength was in his sagacious sifting of practical ideas from the mass of suggestions proferred by his contemporaries."

At the end of the Williamsport meeting in August of 1856, Burrowes, in the presence of the Honorable Andrew G. Curtin, then Secretary of State and Superintendent of Common Schools, and Henry C. Hickok, Deputy Superintendent, announced to the convention his change of mind. Mr. Burrowes regarded this announcement as of considerable importance.

The Fourth Annual Meeting of the Pennsylvania State Teachers Association, with J. P. Wickersham as President, met in the Bethel Church in Harrisburg on December 30, 1856, and is important because it pointed the direction of the general educational opinions of the time. Thomas H. Burrowes was present and delivered the first address, in which he strongly urged the state to legalize and support the many county institutes by means of appropriations of from one hundred to two hundred dollars. President Wickersham supported Burrowes' statement and pointed out that all the county institutes in the state were held at the expense of the teachers with the sole exception of Chester County. Mr. Burrowes' views on normal schools in the same speech were reported as follows:

> The Normal School became more indispensable every year. What the form of it should be, he was not prepared to say. Perhaps it might be well to follow public opinion as indicated

by the establishment of so many teachers schools by private means, and for the state to recognize proper institutions of this kind under some general and safe law on the subject.

There was much discussion of state supported institutes and the majority of delegates were in favor of them, in view of the fact that it was commonly accepted that most of the teachers could not attend normal schools because of the expense and time involved. However, there were a few conservative members who did not even support the idea of state appropriations to the extent of one hundred or two hundred dollars per county institute. The remarks to the convention by a Mr. Redick from Pittsburgh are of interest:

> Some love to go ahead of public opinion — fast men; but we may overleap the mark. Money is a good thing; but it is also the root of all evil. You ruin the orphan by making him the rich uncle's heir. The young unaided Franklin became the renowned philosopher. He believed in the propriety of depending on our own exertions. To the credit of teachers and many superintendents, institutes had been held without this aid. But when that County Superintendency, the best feature of the law, is in danger, we may increase this danger by demanding more at this time [$100 per county] . . . . If we do ask, let it be for something more respectable and better worth the risk . . .

This quotation expressed a common attitude of many conservative people in and out of the teaching field. There were others who were in favor of institutes supported by the state but were fearful of asking for state aid at this time. Mr. Hickok, the Deputy Superintendent, stated that

> . . . almost numberless were the forms of opposition presented [especially to the Law of 1854]; and now at a most critical session of the Legislature, it was cheering to meet the friends of the system at the seat of government.

The Legislature needed enlightenment and it was "indispensable" that they know "correctly . . . all matters of public concern." The general tone of the remarks by delegates from all parts of the state indicated a general indifference and apathy, and sometimes hostility, on the part of many sections of the state to spending more money on public education.

In spite of all the expressions of caution and, in some cases, of fear, the resolution asking for state aid to institutes was passed. A Mr. Gantt of Perry County seemed to see the picture clearly when he was officially reported as saying before the passage of the important resolution:

> There must be a forerunner to every moral and social im-

> provement, which, while it prepares public sentiment for the coming change, also encounters no inconsiderable portion of the opposition to that change. The forerunner of the common school system was the poor school law of 1809. This, with the discussion of it and the opposition to it, somewhat prepared the public mind for the common school act of 1834; and the acts of 1834 and 1836 were the forerunners of the glorious act of 1854 creating county superintendencies. Each prepared public sentiment for its successor. You must not only keep ahead of, but you must give proper tone to public sentiment . . .
>
> No doubt normal schools are indispensable. But you must prepare the way for them . . . By asking this aid to institutes you prepare the public mind in every part of the state for the Normal School.

Professor J. F. Stoddard was of the opinion, and his opinion was respected, that the only way to retain the gains already made was to ask for more. Presumably then, compromise would be possible on the demands made and gains already made could be retained with perhaps an addition or two.

Governor James Pollock enthusiastically urged the convention not to be fearful in a righteous cause. He declared that "it was the solemn duty of the state to aid in all attempts to improve the teachers of her schools." To the contention that a request for aid to institutes would endanger the system, he replied that "as soon would it endanger the solar system." In a rousing speech he went on to say:

> You never receive without asking. You have a right to demand in this cause. Do not go into the legislative hall in any other attitude than that of men, erect in all the dignity of the cause you represent . . . Our legislators are men capable of comprehending and of meeting in the right spirit, a claim of this kind . . . In a good cause there is no place for hesitation.

Governor Pollock went on to urge the need of normal schools and ended on a high note of optimism, declaring that "in the providence of God it is so ordained that ignorance must stand abashed in the presence of progress." The delegates were encouraged in their efforts and were given still more encouragement by the Superintendent of Common Schools, Mr. Andrew G. Curtin, who left a family distressed with sickness to tell the convention that a beginning must be made in the fight against the enemies of public education and the fight must begin right there in the convention. He urged the delegates to go home and set public opinion in the right direction. Such straightforward talk by the Governor and the Superintendent of Common Schools was a great help and encouragement to Principal Wickersham and his associates but did not immediately induce the Legislature to abandon its policy

of ignoring requests that would involve expending money for normal schools or even county institutes.

By the time the Harrisburg convention terminated in December of 1856, it seems evident that many schoolmen, including the Pennsylvania State Teachers Association, did not feel themselves in a position to ask for state normal schools at the expense of the state, although they did ask for state-supported institutes, which required only a trifling sum of money when compared to the total state expenditure for all purposes. Actually the minimum amount ($100 per county) in question would have been less than the salaries of the governor and lieutenant governor. There was a general retreat from the position taken on state-supported normal schools in the normal school sections of the bills of 1853 and 1854, which were largely written by Thomas H. Burrowes and sponsored by the State Department of Common Schools.

THE NORMAL SCHOOL ACT OF 1857

As the new session of the Legislature approached, there was a noticeable decline in the demand for state-supported normal schools. The semi-annual meeting of the State Teachers Association, of which Wickersham was the vigorously active president, at Williamsport in August of 1856, had taken no strong stand on the matter. Neither did a convention of county superintendents that met at the same place a day earlier take a firm stand. They seemed to be more concerned about preserving their gains. Another fact that could not be disregarded was the coming of the second election of county superintendents in less than a year. At the Williamsport convention, Burrowes presented publicly his plan for private normal schools recognized by the state. At the Harrisburg meeting in December of 1856, Burrowes again in the presence of Andrew G. Curtin, Superintendent of Common Schools, made extended reference in public to the hybrid type of private-public normal schools.

Mr. Burrowes, therefore, was not surprised when Mr. Andrew G. Curtin called on him to furnish a written statement of the proposed normal school plan to be communicated to the State Legislature of 1857. This plan was incorporated in the 1856 report of the Superintendent of Common Schools and presented to the Legislature for perusal. The advantages and disadvantages of public normal schools are informative and are given in the state report as follows:

> They gratuitously prepare the teachers of our own schools; that by preparing our own teachers it promotes that degree of uniformity and equality of instruction so essential; that it avoids all sectarianism in the education of the state teachers, and consequently in the schools committed to their care; and that if properly organized and conducted, it will embrace a higher degree of talent in its instruction than can be expected

> in the more humble and less desirable private institution. The disadvantages are that through the impossibility of establishing and supporting a sufficient number of State schools, the supply of graduates will be much smaller than the demand; that in avoiding sectarianism in its instructions, less prominence may be given to the important subject of Christian morality than is due it, and that wanting the stimulus of dependence for their support on an income from students, its professors may become less diligent . . . and the danger, not to be concealed, that the state school may become either the servant or the victim of political purpose.

The advantages and disadvantages of private normal schools are equally informative and are given in part:

> Some of its advantages are, that if properly constituted and taught, it prepares its graduates sufficiently well for all purposes; that it costs the state nothing; that it gives free scope for sound religious and moral instruction, according to the preferences of those who may patronize and control it; that it is wholly removed from the danger of political interference, and that its professors constantly act under the wholesome stimulus of an enlarged self-interest. Some of its disadvantages are, that its diploma has not the seal of public authority; that no uniformity of studies or models of instruction could be expected among the graduates of the different institutions of this class, and a feeling of rivalry, if not of hostility, might be excited that would prejudice their usefulness; and the expense will be onerous to the aspirants to the teachers' profession . . . The institutions of this class being wholly independent of State authority . . . can in no way be made to stimulate the other parts of the system.

It was assumed in the report that the financial means of the Commonwealth would not admit of a sufficient number of state normal schools being established to solve the teacher training problem. Therefore, it was suggested that the best features of the two types of schools be incorporated into a hybrid plan "which shall constitute a Pennsylvania educational measure." The latter was an appeal to state pride in order to get something from a Legislature widely reputed to be disinclined to spend more money on education, particularly on the training of teachers. The plan proposed to the Legislature was substantially the same as that later adopted and enacted into law. The Legislature was assured several times that the proposed plan would not cost any money. State Superintendent Curtin did not present the new plan with much force, as is evident from part of his report which reads that "if the Legislature should be again of the opinion that it is

inexpedient to establish State Normal Schools, the experiment now proposed is at any rate worth a trial."

In the same report of 1856, Mr. Curtin gave the legislators a picture of the teaching "profession" in Pennsylvania and this picture is rather convincingly reinforced by the reports of the county superintendents. The county superintendents year after year called attention to the same unsatisfactory state of affairs as far as the education of the teachers was concerned. On the basis of a survey of twenty-seven counties, Mr. Curtin, in his report to the Legislature, presented a "deplorable" picture. In a state with advanced husbandry, industry, and transportation, there were about 500 graded schools, 2,205 "in which any successful attempt at classification has been made," and 1,644 in which there is "neither grading of the school, nor classification of the pupils." In the latter case, of course, all pupils were taught individually as was the rule in colonial times.

On a basis of thirty-four counties, the experience of the teachers was summed up as follows:

Less than one year	1,793
One to three years	2,835
Three to six years	1,058
Six to ten years	612
Ten to twenty years	389
Over twenty years	123

On a basis of thirty-one counties the Superintendent discovered that there were 2,201 "teachers who have read books and periodicals on teaching and other educational works," but there were 3,241 who had not read a book, a periodical, or any other work on education.

For forty-three counties the results were as follows:

Full satisfaction	2,370
Medium teachers who "may be employed until better can be found"	3,660
Those whose service had better be dispensed with	2,005

It was estimated that not two per cent were graduates of colleges or normal schools. At least fifty per cent had received their entire educational training in the neighborhood schools. This state of affairs was declared to be an improvement over 1853 when there were no county superintendents. Wickersham's detailed notes of visits to the schools of Lancaster County presented about the same "deplorable" picture.

Late in the session of the 1857 Legislature, Mr. Burrowes was called on by the Superintendent of Common Schools to draft a bill to be presented to the Legislature. Mr. Burrowes pointed out in an article in *Barnard's American Journal of Education* that he had given

so much thought to the matter that he was able to write out the long and detailed bill in one day's time, the demand being so urgent that he did not even make a good copy for himself.

Mr. Wickersham was consulted in the drawing up of the Normal School Bill of 1857, and according to him a letter written to Governor Pollock during the legislative session of 1855 had "a bearing on the history of the subject." This letter was written by a Mr. Bannan of Pottsville, who had been a school director for many years, and who suggested to Governor Pollock a plan for dividing the state into twelve to fifteen districts, in each of which would be erected a normal school, partly on public and partly on private funds. Mr. Wickersham states positively that the "feature of Mr. Bannan's plan that was entirely original was the proposition that Normal Schools should be private rather than public institutions." Mr. Burrowes made no mention of this letter, which was forwarded by the State Department of Common Schools to him with the request that he should consider it in drawing up a bill to be presented to the Legislature. There may be a question of who had the original plan of a private-public normal school, but there is no question about the authorship of the bill presented to the Legislature. Thomas H. Burrowes was officially acknowledged to be its author on numerous occasions by Mr. Hickok, the new Superintendent of Common Schools, and others of note in the educational field.

The bill passed the Legislature without much difficulty. It was first considered by a Senate committee headed by Titian Coffey, who presented a favorable report to the Senate. He pointed out that other states had had normal schools since 1839 and asked whether Pennsylvania, with all her resources, should fall behind the other states. "Pennsylvania always cautious in the work of progress" had settled on a different policy and "whatever its faults or merits, *the system is our own* (italics in original)," It was pointed out on numerous occasions that the system was distinctly "Pennsylvanian." This distinct appeal to provincialism appeared to be a widely-used device for securing assent from a Legislature that had many marks of conservatism. Mr. Coffey went on to say that the Senate "Committee are of the opinion that the bill now in their hands has been framed to supply the wants of our Common School system, and is less objectionable than any scheme which has heretofore been proposed." The chairman said further that now was the time "to give form and direction to the Normal School movement," in view of the wide and varied activity in that direction. The state could accomplish a great deal of good without cost.

As far as the available records indicate, there was no official opposition to the bill. According to Wickersham there were enemies of the bill in and out of the Legislature, however, who were judiciously prevented from creating delays and difficulties by the skillful "engineer-

ing" of Superintendent A. G. Curtin, his deputy, Mr. H. C. Hickok, and friends in the House. As reported by Nathan C. Schaeffer, the Normal School Bill of 1857 came up on the last day that could be devoted to the consideration of new bills, and since the Normal School Bill had to be considered out of its order and ahead of another bill of more importance to Mr. Foster, the leader of the House, the diplomacy and skill required of Mr. Curtin and Mr. Hickok were necessarily of a high order, especially in view of the fact that Mr. Curtin and Mr. Foster were of opposite political faiths. The bill was passed unanimously in the Senate and with a substantial majority in the House, and was signed by Governor James Pollock on May 20, 1857.

The bill was strictly "Pennsylvanian," as was mentioned before, and it did not cost any money. Mr. Burrowes, who was closer to the situation than anyone outside of the officials, states that "this bill was, in manner, laughed through the Legislature, as a visionary project that could never be carried into effect; but, as it asked no money from the State Treasury, it was allowed to pass." The Legislature completely ignored the earnest message of Governor Pollock who urged support for normal schools and institutes in the following words:

> In a former communication to the Legislature the establishment of State Normal Schools, for the education of teachers, was urged as indispenably necessary to the perfection of the system. With full confidence in their utility and necessity, I again recommend them. These institutions . . . supported by the state, would meet the wants and elevate the character of our common schools.
>
> Teachers Institutes, as auxiliary to Normal Schools, when in operation, and supplying their place till established, should be aided by the state.

The very small appropriation for institutes that was requested by the Pennsylvania State Teachers Association was passed over without action. A spirited debate arose over the general appropriation to the schools and the supporters of the request for money to be expended on county institutes did not believe the time ripe to press the cause. The net result was a permissive Normal School Act that was signed by the Governor on May 20, 1857, and a small, but inadequate increase, in the general appropriation to the schools of the state.

The essential provisions of the Normal School Act are summarized directly below:

1. The law of 1857 provided for the division of the state into twelve normal school districts, Lancaster, York, and Lebanon counties forming the second district. The districts were roughly 200,000 in population and in some cases coincided with natural economic and language areas. The second district was such a language area, as was also the third

district made up of Lehigh, Berks, and Schuylkill counties. Both districts were heavily populated by people of German ancestry speaking the "Pennsylvania German" dialect.

2. One school in each district might be established by a group of not fewer than thirteen stockholders or contributors. The Act was not to take effect until four schools had been approved. There was no state suggestion as to the location of these schools, and as a result most of the schools were established in very small towns where model school facilities and desirable contacts with larger urban centers were not readily available. Millersville had a population of less than twelve hundred.

3. A board of trustees was to be in general charge of the school and in the annual election thereof no stockholder was to have more than five votes. Religious tests were not permitted for stockholders, trustees, faculty, or students. The trustees were required to furnish to the Superintendent of Common Schools an annual report on finances, curriculum, apparatus, students, attendance, and other relevant matters.

4. To be entitled to recognition, a school was required to meet the following conditions:

a. Not less than ten acres of land in one tract.

b. Lodging accommodations for three hundred students and a hall of sufficient size to seat one thousand adults; adequate accommodations for "physical exercise during inclement weather."

c. A library room, a cabinet for specimens in the natural sciences, and "such apparatus and philosophical instruments as are indispensable."

d. A professor for each of six departments—one of orthography, reading, and elocution; one of writing, drawing, and bookkeeping; one of arithmetic and higher mathematics; one of geography and history; one of grammar and English literature; and one of theory and practice of teaching; and such other tutors and assistants in the natural, mental, and moral sciences as may be necessary.

e. The principal to have charge of discipline and the internal management of the school under rules and regulations of the trustees. (The faculty as a unit became the most important disciplinary agent at Millersville in the nineteenth century).

f. A model school of not fewer than one hundred pupils for the practice of teaching.

g. Inspection and approval by a committee appointed by the Superintendent of Common Schools with the approval of the Governor.

5. A board of principals, acting by majority vote, was to control admission and curriculum requirements.

6. Every school district had the right to send one student annually,

alternately male and female, to the normal school at a cost to the district not to exceed five dollars per session of eleven weeks. This provision became virtually a dead letter.

7. Preference was to be given to such as are "designed for the Profession of Teaching."

8. From three to five principals, annually designated by the State Superintendent, were to conduct the final examination for graduation in the presence of the county superintendents of the district. Graduates were to be granted certificates valid in any part of the state for two years in all subjects in which they were successfully examined; the certificates to be made permanent after two years of successful teaching.

9. Any teacher of the district, after three successful years of teaching, was permitted to take the State Board Examinations and, if successful, was granted a permanent certificate covering the subjects in which he was examined.

10. The Act was not to go into operation until four schools were inspected and approved.

About the only people who were enthusiastic about the bill were Thomas H. Burrowes and his supporters. The newspapers in Lancaster County hardly noticed the new law and certainly did not display the enthusiasm of the author of the bill, who pointed with pride to its general features. It is difficult to avoid the thought that Burrowes was a good lawyer. He could plead the new case of private normal schools chartered by the state with as much fervor as the opposing case of public normal schools before 1854, when he become convinced that he could not make progress with a Legislature opposed to spending more money on education. Governor Pollock and others, were not as flexible and continued to call for state-supported normal schools.

One fact that these friends of the common schools could be thankful for was the failure of the Legislature to heed the many bills and petitions calling for the abolition of the county superintendency. It was contended by many of the opponents of county supervision that the county superintendency was an unnecessary expense. Others based their opposition on a dislike for an alleged invasion of local rights of government. These forms of opposition fortunately were weakening.

PREPARATION FOR ACCEPTANCE AS A STATE NORMAL SCHOOL, 1857-1859

At a meeting of the Board of Trustees of the Lancaster County Normal School, Mr. Burrowes "gave a lengthy view of the Normal School Law, and urged the enlargement of the buildings to come under the requirements and privileges of said law," after which the "Board discussed plans for future action." It was reported by Mr. Burrowes several years later that the authorities of the Millersville school, in-

cluding Mr. Wickersham, were not happy over the "large requirements of the act," but nevertheless at once planned for the future. A meeting of stockholders was called for June 29, 1857, at Cooper's Hotel in Lancaster at which meeting the normal school expansion was the major consideration. Mr. Burrowes and Mr. Wickersham both urged the expansion of the facilities to meet the requirements of the law of 1857, the former being the chairman of the meeting. The secretary reported an earning of six per cent, but for the good of the expanding institution the profits were paid on debts. The hope of dividends was held out, however. It was declared editorially by the *Daily Express* that "we know of no similar enterprise in which an investment would be more certain of yielding a handsome return."

It was estimated by Principal Wickersham that the contemplated expansion would require $15,000. Abraham Peters, president of the Board of Trustees; D. S. Bare, Secretary of the Board of Trustees; J. H. Hershey; Colonel D. Herr of Columbia; the Honorable J. G. Shuman; Jacob M. Frantz, and other stockholders made statements and urged the expansion of the Lancaster County Normal School. These gentlemen were leaders in the community and were substantial stockholders.

Abraham Peters, who next to Burrowes and Wickersham, was the strongest and steadiest friend of the Normal School, moved the following resolution:

> That it is expedient so to enlarge the grounds attached to the school, and to make such additions to the buildings connected therewith, as to bring the school within the requirements of the act of assembly, approved the 20th of May 1857.

The stockholders were eager for action and on motion of L. M. Hobbs, instructed the Trustees to inquire about the terms on which additional land could be secured, to get a plan and estimate for the enlargement of the building, and to draw up a plan to finance the expansion. All this was to be prepared and laid before an adjourned meeting of the stockholders on July 6, 1857, just one week after the previous stockholders' meeting.

In great haste the Trustees met at the Normal School building on the fourth of July to carry into effect the resolution of the stockholders at the Lancaster meeting. Before much could be done it was necessary to get the financial house in order. The Trustees were rather optimistic, especially since they, at the time they were planning expansions to meet the Act of 1857, had not been able to secure enough loans to meet the liabilities of the school and were obliged to have individual board members give their personal notes to lenders for which the board members were given a lien on the property. This situation was a little contradictory to the announcement of June twenty-ninth made by the secretary, who stated the situation in the best possible light because

doing otherwise would not be conducive to the selling of more stock. Thomas H. Burrowes, D. S. Bare, and Barton B. Martin were appointed to "draw up a form for stock subscriptions." Others were active on the matter of securing additional land to bring the total up from the seven and one-half acres then owned at the corner of Frederick and George Streets to the ten acres required by law. The Trustees complied with the instructions of the stockholders and secured sufficient land to comply with the Normal School Act.

The adjourned meeting of the stockholders, with Mr. Burrowes again acting as chairman, on Monday, July 6, 1857, was well attended by a group of men who were ready for immediate action. Friends and financial support were needed on a basis wider than Lancaster County. The President of the Board of Trustees, Abraham Peters, acting on the above assumption, suggested that a general meeting of the friends of common school education in the normal school district, embracing the counties of Lancaster, York, and Lebanon, "be held at Millersville on Saturday, the 22nd of August next, at 10 o'clock a. m. for the purpose of taking measures to enlarge the building for a State Normal School." Dr. P. W. Hiestand of Millersville, who later was secretary and treasurer of the Board of Trustees for many years, moved that the Governor, the State Superintendent of Common Schools, the judges of the courts, and the county superintendents be invited to address the meeting. Mr. Burrowes, Barton B. Martin, Dr. P. W. Hiestand, and D. S. Bare were appointed a committee to arrange for the meeting which was planned on a large scale. Ten days later the committee was enlarged to include distinguished citizens of Lancaster and the vicinity who were not stockholders and trustees. Burrowes and Wickersham were aware of this means of good public relations.

A circular of information, including the "History, Present Condition and Future Prospects" of the Lancaster County Normal School, was widely circulated in the normal school district for the purpose of advertising the school and more especially so that the people attending the promotional meeting on August twenty-second might "be prepared to act understandingly on the subject" of expansion to meet the conditions of the Normal School Act of 1857.

The "Educational Harvest Home" at Millersville on August twenty-second was a success. On the morning of that day at nine o'clock, the distinguished guests assembled at Lancaster and were escorted to Millersville over the recently-constructed turnpike by a large group of citizens headed by the Fencibles (militia) and their band in conestoga wagons. The *Express* reported the procession as being over a mile in length. Governor Pollock and other guests were entertained with exercises in elocution, phonetic spelling, dialogues, and music in the small school chapel, and with "sentiments from the pupils appropriate to the

occasion." Typical of the time was the sentiment to the county superintendents:

> The Superintendents of the three counties—May the White Rose of York, the Red Rose of Lancaster and the Cedars of Lebanon, be twined in a never-fading wreath to bloom upon their brows.

In language that fitted the agricultural area, a "sentiment" to Mr. Burrowes was given in the words of Miss Rose E. Budd:

> Thomas H. Burrowes, the steadfast friend of public schools—
> When old Lancaster wished the plow of progress
> To turn the deepest furrows
> She turned and gave, with one acclaim
> The handle up to Burrowes.

After a long and elaborate program, Governor James Pollock, Superintendent Hickok, the county superintendents, the judges and grand jury, and other guests visited the school at work and then were given a banquet by L. M. Hobbs' department.

In the afternoon the procession of dignitaries moved out toward the appointed meeting place on the Conestoga River, about a mile from the school. The procession was headed by the Fencibles and their band "discoursing most eloquent music." This "Educational Harvest Home," as it was referred to by the papers, was a "glorious demonstration, in a glorious cause." It resembled in some respects a camp meeting, a revival meeting, a political meeting, a militia meeting all rolled into one. People poured in from all directions on foot, on horseback, in carriages, and in conestoga wagons. Most of them came from Lancaster County but some were there from York and Lebanon. The speakers' stand, beautifully decorated with flowers, accommodated several score dignitaries and friends whose friendship the school considered important. The fifteen hundred seats for the spectators were soon filled by the throngs that slowly crept in holiday spirit to the banks of the Conestoga, and more than five hundred were reported as being unable to secure seats. Some of these people came in the same spirit and for about the same purpose as if they went to a fair or went to see the butchering of Isaac Groff's 795 pound pig at Urban's Tavern. The Governor was there; great throngs were there; and for many it was an exciting day aside from any thought of advancing the cause of the common schools.

To Burrowes, who had arranged this large meeting and who was appointed its president and its chairman, and to Wickersham this was an opportunity to present the school in a favorable light and to win friends and financial support. Mr. Burrowes, as president, spoke a few judicious words reported in detail in the papers.

Both Governor Pollock and Superintendent Hickok knew and understood their audience. Their addresses were well received and

when Governor Pollock reworded the mild resolution (simply recommending expansion to the status of a state normal school) and added a pledge to raise a total of $20,000 by subscription of stock, the new resolution was adopted by acclamation. After the Governor's rousing speech, the subscription books for stock were passed around "and the amount subscribed increased to about $8,000." Obviously, the meeting was a success in a financial respect. Mr. Burrowes and his committee had planned carefully. When the new subscription books were presented they already contained the names of a number of well-known citizens who had subscribed in substantial amounts. Presumably they proceeded on the psychological basis that people more easily follow than lead, and therefore will more easily buy stock when a stock-buying movement has been set in motion by citizens they know and respect. Also, five of the members of the Board of Trustees had that very morning increased their subscriptions to stock to the amount of $3,000. Mr. Burrowes insisted that the money subscribed was not a gift, but an investment. The nearest that the stockholders came to getting a return on their stock was a resolution passed by the Board of Trustees on May 7, 1858, declaring that a three per cent semi-annual dividend should be paid on all stock paid up before October 1, 1857. The resolution was never put into effect.

Even though the open-air meeting on the banks of the Conestoga was a success, the Trustees were still a considerable distance away from the $20,000 estimated to be necessary to complete the expansion requisite for recognition as a state normal school. Only four days after the big meeting the Trustees met at the home of Thomas H. Burrowes for the express purpose of appointing committees to secure further stock subscriptions. It must be kept in mind that the subscriptions to stock were not always accompanied by cash payments. In fact, quite often the subscribers did not meet their obligations and had to be coaxed, begged, and sometimes threatened to susbstantiate their written promises to pay for stock. On November 28, 1856 a Mr. "C. Shitz plead his case against paying his stock in a flow of most powerful eloquence, and convinced himself of being right, but none of the Board."

Teams of Trustees and stockholders were sent out to sell stock. Abraham Peters and Ephraim Hershey undertook to go to Columbia and in less than a week sold thirty-three shares at twenty-five dollars per share. Jacob M. Frantz and Barton B. Martin canvassed the comparatively wealthy agricultural area of Manor Township and sold fifty shares in the same time. Barton B. Martin and David Hartman sold forty-one shares in Lancaster. Lesser amounts were sold by other teams consisting of Hobbs, Brady, Bare, Dr. Hiestand and others. The campaign went on at a vigorous pace with general meetings scheduled for York County on October eighth and in Lebanon County. In spite of the energy put into the sale of stock, by September 14, 1857, the

Trustees still did not have enough stock sold to justify a full-scale program of expansion, even though a hundred shares had been sold in the last week. As on other occasions, the Trustees themselves had to come to the rescue. On motion of Thomas H. Burrowes it was "resolved that the balance of the stock lacking the necessary amount be assumed by the members of the Board," but Mr. Burrowes himself did not subscribe to any stock.

Thomas H. Burrowes, B. B. Martin, and D. S. Bare were appointed a committee to make a contract with a Mr. John Evans of Lancaster to start the expansion of the building, while Abraham Peters headed a building committee. Apparently after these committees were once appointed they were given a wide latitude of action and completed their jobs without many specific directions from the Board of Trustees.

The first step in the physical expansion was to enlarge the old chapel by building a wing extending in a northerly direction directly opposite the original academy entrance on Frederick Street. The new addition was forty feet wide, forty feet long, and three stories high, providing a chapel of required size (forty feet by eighty feet) on the first floor, four recitation rooms on the second, and eight additional bedchambers on the third. The new chapel was merely an extension of the old forty-feet-square chapel or lecture hall and was to serve a double purpose by means of sliding glass partitions. The new section of the chapel, which was raised two steps above the old chapel, could be used as two classrooms or, with the glass partitions properly adjusted, could be used in conjunction with the old lecture hall as an enlarged chapel, capable of seating one thousand people as required by the Normal School Law of 1857. The point at which the extension began is visible on the outside brick walls of the present dining room annex. Part of this extension was torn down to make room for the present chapel in 1874, and the remainder still stands today serving as a dining room annex on the first floor. By December 1, 1857, the new chapel wing was so nearly completed that plans were made for a "public demonstration on the completion of the New Hall to further the progress of the Institution."

High hope was expressed that York and Lancaster Counties would do their part and buy more stock at twenty-five dollars per share. *The York Advocate,* however, did not appear to be enthusiastic, and cautioned the citizens of the county to consider the matter of establishing their own normal school. Burrowes, Wickersham, and State Superintendent Hickok pretty well destroyed that hope with a well organized and heavily attended mass meeting at York, at which a resolution supporting the ambitions of Millersville to become a state normal school was passed.

In the meantime, the planting of trees and the general improving of the grounds was in progress. It would not have been appropriate

to ask for state recognition with a private graveyard where the monument now stands covering part of the ten-acre area and so a committee with Abraham Peters as chairman was instructed to make efforts to have the graveyard removed from the former Graybill property. Generally, provisions for the protection of graveyards from molestation are written into deeds or are otherwise legally established, so that usually difficulties are encountered when attempts are made to remove the dead, but in this case the attempt was successful.

In spite of the depression that struck the nation in 1857, the Trustees at the end of the year were still planning to start construction next spring on the new building that would complete the legal requirements for recognition. In fact, Wickersham was instructed by the Board of Trustees to prepare a plan for the new and separate building that would complete the requirements. John Evans, a builder, also furnished a plan, which was turned over to Wickersham for examination. The effects of the panic continued, although in abated form, and the Trustees still had financial troubles, finding it necessary to pay the oldest bills first as money became available.

The panic had never been as severe in Lancaster County as in many other parts of the nation. The Safe Harbor Foundry had closed down, and the cotton mills in Lancaster had temporarily suspended operations, as had many lesser plants, but only one bank had failed in Lancaster and that through dishonesty. By February, 1858, the local banks were ready to resume specie payment. The Howard Society had organized block committees to collect money and to distribute needed food and clothes. The city and county governments, however, did almost nothing to relieve the poor, and, contrary to present procedures, did not even repair the dilapidated poor house because of the panic. The tax collector, however, collected $9,529 more in taxes in 1857 than in 1856 in spite of the panic. The situation in Lancaster County looked better in February, 1858, than for some months previously and continued to improve gradually.

With the slight improvement in the general picture in the county, however, difficulties came to offset those gains. L. M. Hobbs, the Steward, on the first of March drove to Lancaster, stabled his horses, and then disappeared. The *Daily Express* was charitable about the whole matter and merely suggested that such conduct was "singular" and reported rumors that he had gone out west without even saying goodbye to his family. The paper mentioned his "high reputation" and assured its readers that his "sudden departure in no way affects the character of the institution with which he was connected." The *Lancaster Intelligencer* was not as charitable and parts of its editorial are quoted to illustrate the vitriolic nature of some of the newspaper reporting of the time. The Normal School never drew such fire on itself before and with few exceptions in this early period, had the

respect and support of the papers. Concerning Hobbs, the paper had this in part to say:

> The session of the Normal School having recently closed, Hobbs had collected some three or four thousand dollars from the students in payment for board, etc. He came to this city on that day, stabled his horses and wagon at one of our principal hotels, and suddenly "left for parts unknown!" Sundry bills in this city, which include bakers', butchers' and storekeepers', remain unsettled.
>
> This Hobbs made strong profession of religion; always wore a sanctimonious expression of countenance, and looked for all the world like a dear, innocent, good, easy soul . . . . Indeed, on several occasions we have heard him make long prayers, in which the rascality and degeneracy of this world seemed to cause him a vast deal of regret. The villain and hypocrite have been acted by him to perfection . . . . He won, by his *christian* [sic] deportment and oily manners, the confidence of a number of our citizens who would be very glad to see Hobbs at the present time. They would, no doubt, cheerfully furnish him with a "boarding house", situated in the eastern part of the city, but he wouldn't have the privilege of acting as Keeper. Our good friends at Millersville would be careful that no more such characters be appointed *purveyor's* for the students connected with the Normal School. And it would not be a bad idea if some of our churches were to inquire into the matter and see whether any such "wolves in sheep's clothing" are connected with their flocks. The cause of true Christianity has already suffered long enough from hypocritical pretenders.

The Trustees held a meeting, recorded that Hobbs had "absconded" and instructed the secretary "to make arrangements for a day for the Sheriff's sale of the personal effects of Mr. Hobbs." There was much excitement but nothing was heard from L. M. Hobbs until George Sanderson, the editor of the *Lancaster Intelligencer* received a long and pathetic letter from the "absconded" steward, who had read the account in the *Intelligencer* of March 23, 1858, that a friend had sent him. He had indeed "gone out west" to Wyandotte, Johnson County, in Kansas Territory. He explained his case in detail. Demands had been made on him for certain monies he claimed to have paid out. He saw imminent ruin staring him directly in the face and finding it "worse than death" to face his family and church, in a moment of "weakness" he deserted the scene of his impending disaster. He volunteered to come back immediately to appear before the Lancaster County Court if summoned to do so. Mr. Sanderson, in spite of the vitriolic charges in his own paper, was deeply influenced by the letter

and declared apologetically in print that Hobbs "should be pitied rather than censured, for his misfortunes."

The Hobbs affair must have been settled quietly and without criminal charges, for a diligent search reveals nothing further. Also, on January 7, 1860, a letter was received by the Trustees from Hobbs in reference to his appointment as a teacher. During the Civil War he was chaplain of a colored regiment, and later became superintendent of the freedmen's schools of Florida (a carpet bag position), ending his career as a Methodist minister from 1873 to 1895.

The publicity of the Hobbs case did the Normal School no good and very likely did much harm. Neither did the prolonged row between the two principals of the high schools in Lancaster and their supporters on the question of whether or not the county superintendent had the right to examine teachers for certificates in the city of Lancaster, have a beneficial effect on the public relations of Millersville. In the frequent letters to the editors and in the discussions it was charged that Wickersham as county superintendent had favored teachers who attended the Millersville Normal Institute for permanent certificates and required those who had not attended to apply for provisional certificates from year to year. Of course, Wickersham logically should have regarded teachers who had taken the initiative to attend the three months' Normal Institute more favorably than those who had not so attended, other factors being reasonably equal. Nevertheless, the charges of favoritism were made and were believed by some people. The Board of Education under the leadership of its president, Thomas H. Burrowes, investigated the matter and decided fifteen to one against the agitators who had held the attention of the public from February eleventh to April twentieth and beyond.

For a time in 1857, promising efforts toward securing recognition were being made in the fifth, sixth, and twelfth districts and of these, the efforts at Edinboro promised the earliest results following Millersville. At Edinboro a "large" building was in the process of construction and the ten required acres of land had been secured. As at Millersville, so with these efforts, the panic slowed down and stalled them. There was not much incentive for Millersville to continue striving toward recognition, because state recognition could not be given under the Law of 1857 until four schools had been inspected and approved; and there was little immediate prospect of that being accomplished. Other discouraging factors were the adverse publicity, the failure of some subscribers to pay for their stock, and a lack of decided improvement in the general financial picture. In April, 1858, the Brick Committee informed the Board of Trustees that they had instructed Mr. Kitch to sell the brick that had been "engaged" for the construction of the new hall. Nothing appears to have been done on expansion until

December 4, 1858, when the Trustees discussed "the propriety of erecting additional buildings" but took no action.

The Panic of 1857 had finally lost its depressing effect by 1859 and the enthusiasm of the Board was revived. The Trustees authorized President Abraham Peters to buy the Wabank property for $5,500 and twenty shares of stock, the purchase money to be secured by a mortgage on the property. At the same meeting (January 1, 1859) it was decided to secure an estimate on a building of three stories above the ground floor and forty feet by one hundred feet in dimensions. David Hartman, one of the Trustees, reported that a brick building of the proper size with a porch and two balconies would, according to "responsible parties," cost $7,200 without foundation walls and cellar. A completed building was estimated to cost at least $10,000.

Mr. Wickersham and four others were appointed a committee to draw up detailed specifications. In two weeks the plans were drawn, but the specifications were not sufficiently detailed to receive bids. Neither did the financial affairs suggest the optimism displayed in the desire to construct a fairly large building. Liabilities of $7,327 and assets of $3,567.61 were reported. Nevertheless, the committee was instructed to receive bids on the basis of the new plan just presented. Within ten days eight bids were received, that of Schwartzwalder and Morrow being the lowest. The plans were again carefully revised and all changes completed three days later. The financial picture being a little insecure and the project a rather big one, it was decided to call a stockholders' meeting to ratify the proposed actions of the Board of Trustees. Mr. Wickersham explained the object of the meeting, "which was the devising of means to enable the Trustees to fulfill the requirements of the Normal School Act of May, 1857." After a thorough discussion, three resolutions were passed directing (1) that the Trustees should proceed as soon as arrangements could be made to erect the proposed building, (2) that the expansion should be financed by an issue of bonds of $100 denomination amounting to $16,000 and secured by a mortgage on the property of the Normal School, redeemable in six years, and bearing interest at the rate of six per cent per annum, and (3) that the entire execution of these plans should rest entirely with the Board of Trustees.

The contract to construct what is now the south front of the Ladies' Building was awarded to Schwartzwalder and Morrow on a bid of $13,490. There were seven other bidders whose bids ranged from $13,490 to $18,500. John Evans, who, with the aid of Wickersham, drew the plans for the forty feet by one hundred twelve feet, four-story brick edifice, bid $14,900 and this was out of the running. Several letters were received by the editor of the *Daily Express* cautioning the Trustees against necessarily accepting the lowest bid and pointing out the unsatisfactory construction of the county prison. These letters

seemed to hint at closeness on the part of the Trustees, who were reminded that they were "building for the future educational interest of the state."

A building committee consisting of Jacob M. Frantz, Treasurer; J. K. Shenk; E. B. Herr; John Brady; P. W. Hiestand; and Barton B. Martin was appointed to supervise the construction. Mr. Wickersham headed a committee to dig a well. The Building Committee superintended the construction itself, a motion to appoint a construction superintendent having been lost in a meeting of the Board of Trustees. By June fourth the building was under way and the first installment of $400 was paid to the builder. A furniture committee headed by J. P. Wickersham, was instructed to buy suitable furnishings and the Building Committee was instructed to build a kitchen.

Before any normal school was recognized under the Normal School Law of 1857, the normal school advocates were alarmed by the return of the Legislature to the old and unsuccessful system of subsidizing private academies and colleges for the training of teachers. In the Spring of 1859, the Legislature appropriated $6,000 to Westminister College at New Wilmington for the training of teachers. Governor William F. Packer came strongly to the defense of the normal school people and on March 18, 1859, vetoed the act and returned it to the House of Representatives with a detailed message urging the cause of normal schools for the training of teachers. Previous to that, on April fourth the Governor had vetoed special legislation which granted the status of a state normal school to the California Seminary without meeting the requirement of the Act of 1857. With these two vetoes, Mr. Burrowes and his friends were much relieved, believing this strong and "noble" stand of the Governor and the acquiesence of the Legislature to have ended a crisis in the common school system of the state more important than any since 1854.

Following these two vetoes, it was thought appropriate to ask for a supplement to the original act to enable one state normal school to be inspected, approved, and fully recognized. The supplement was passed by the Legislature and was approved by Governor Packer on April 15, 1859. It involved no expenditure of money. This cleared the ground for Millersville, which had in the meantime undertaken anew a program of expansion. Only one other school seemed to be anywhere near the point of inspection and approval.

A slight gain had clearly been made, but it was thought by some school authorities that if the Superintendent of Common Schools had not assumed a "standstill" position and had courageously followed the leadership of the Governor, who advocated state aid to the normal schools at the beginning of the 1859 session, the outcome might have been more favorable.

It is possible that the Legislature did not take kindly the resolu-

tions of a mass meeting in which six members of the Board of Trustees were leaders, one of them delivering the main address. The resolutions condemned the increase from three dollars to five dollars per diem pay of the legislators as a move made in a "spirit of extravagance and avarice." Neither Mr. Burrowes nor Professor Wickersham was mentioned in connection with this meeting and it is clear that their sense of public relations was superior to that of some of the Trustees.

Work on the new building was progressing at a satisfactory rate throughout the summer of 1859. The kitchen was built and the old building repaired and painted. The material expansion and improvement, as well as the instructional phase of the school, were satisfactory, but the ever present financial problem was evident. The bond sales needed to be stimulated and accordingly a committee of earnest workers—Jacob M. Frantz, Abraham Bausman, President Abraham Peters and Barton B. Martin—was appointed to "dispose of the bonds and collect funds in order to meet the liabilities of the school."

THE RECOGNITION OF THE FIRST PENNSYLVANIA STATE NORMAL SCHOOL, 1859

On the first day of October, 1859, Principal Wickersham read the following historic resolution:

> That the Board of Trustees of the Lancaster County Normal School . . . having prepared said institution for recognition under the provisions of the Act of 20th of May, 1857, entitled "An Act for the due training of teachers for the Common Schools of the State" . . . and being desirious of claiming the privileges therein named hereby make application to the State Superintendent for his preliminary action in the matter as required by the . . . act referred to preparatory to the formal recognition of the School as a State Normal School for the second district and that the President and Secretary of the Board be requested to forward a certified copy of this resolution to the Superintendent of Common Schools . . .

The response of State Superintendent Hickok was very prompt and in two weeks' time the Board of Trustees held a special meeting to consider his letter which informed them that the first two days of December had been designated for the inspection. The first action of the Board was to issue a special invitation to Governor William F. Packer, who had proven himself a good friend of the normal schools by his vetoes earlier in the year. It was a common practice to invite men of importance to the Normal School where they were warmly received and invariably given impressive demonstrations of the work of the school. This policy was later continued by means of a special public relations committee of the Board of Trustees, on which Wicker-

sham served until 1866, when he resigned to accept the state superintendency of common schools.

Wickersham was without a doubt an expert in calling the Normal School to the favorable attention of men of importance or men whose friendship was worth cultivating for the good of the school. At the special meeting the second item of business was to invite the "old war horse of the common schools," as Editor Sanderson of the *Intelligencer* respectfully referred to Thomas H. Burrowes, who according to Taylor "had done more than any other Pennsylvanian to bring Normal Schools into evidence." Books were to be secured for the student teachers in the model school so that they would be in readiness for the inspection. Principal Wickersham, President Abraham Peters, and Secretary B. H. Hershey were appointed a committee to appoint aides and to supervise the arrangements. Cattle had been in the habit of wandering about the school grounds and the steward apparently grazed his cows on the ten acres of school grounds. He was given orders to keep his cattle off the grounds. The Trustees did not wish to have the State Inspection Committee run the usual hazards of a barnyard in its inspection of the school grounds.

Early in November the new Ladies' Building stood complete, and a special committee of Trustees was appointed to examine it to see whether it came within the specifications and to see that it was ready for the state committee's tour. Insurance was purchased and the furnace bills were adjusted by giving short-term notes when cash was not immediately available. By the middle of November all was in readiness for the crucial day.

The Inspection Committee consisted of Ex-Governor Pollock, who signed the Normal School Act; Andrew G. Curtin, the former Superintendent of Common Schools; William H. Heister, the Secretary of State; and John L. Atlee, M. D., chairman of the Superintending Committee of the Lancaster Board of Education, all of them described as "competent and disinterested persons" in the official notice of approval. It was not strictly accurate to say that they were "disinterested," for every one had, with one possible exception, repeatedly shown his special interest in Millersville. These gentlemen were assisted by A. R. Blair, Superintendent of York County; Henry Houck, Superintendent of Lebanon County; and David Evans, Superintendent of Lancaster County. These men officially and in the presence of State Superintendent Hickok carefully investigated the school and unanimously approved the Lancaster County Normal School on December 2, 1859.

In his address to the large group assembled to hear the verdict of the State Inspection Committee, Mr. Burrowes declared, in the spirit of the political expert that he was, that the "hard practical common sense of the people, reflected through the legislature, seems to have had, instinctively, a better comprehension of the subject, than we who

were in a fever of impatience . . . " (The "hard practical common sense of the people" had for years resulted in the election of Legislatures that were not interested in teacher education even to the extent of voting $100 annually for each county institute.) Burrowes' address was logical in view of the fact that the Millersville authorities intended to ask for a state appropriation at the first opportunity. On January 7, 1860, a resolution was moved that four members of the Trustees headed by Abraham Peters, be appointed to confer with Wickersham and Burrowes on the matter of securing financial aid from the state. The conclusion is inescapable that the idea was to compliment the Legislature on its "comprehension of the subject" and then ask for an appropriation. The principle was sound and legitimate.

To build up good will, the members of the Legislature were invited to visit the Normal School. According to the *Harrisburg Telegraph* (February 11, 1860), it was an invitation by the Trustees for the purpose of securing an appropriation, but according to the *Daily Express* (February 16, 1860,) the invitation was issued by friends in the Legislature. As was usual on such occasions, the Trustees prepared to receive the Legislature in the customary grand style. The judges of the county, the Governor, the Mayor of Lancaster, who had defeated Burrowes by only a dozen votes, and other dignitaries were invited to be present. In his good-humored reception speech, Mayor Sanderson lost no time in suggesting that the work at Millersville would "induce you to extend still further the fostering hand of legislation." The legislators were escorted by the military organizations of the city to West King Street where they took open carriages for the chilly half-hour trip to Millersville. The porches and balconies were crowded with cheering students and townspeople. When the legislators came up the south walk they were received with loud cheers and the music of the Millersville Brass Band which played "enlivened music." Wickersham had arranged demonstrations for the visitors and addressed them in his usual congenial style. The legislators "seemed favorably impressed," but there was no state appropriation until 1861.

The official recognition of the Normal School and the visit of the legislators to Millersville may be regarded as the end of the second period of Millersville's history. The Normal School was now firmly established, even though it seemed for a time that Wickersham might accept the offer of the School Commissioners of Minnesota to become Superintendent of the three normal schools in that state, at a reported salary of $3,000. An attack of typhoid fever among the ladies had temporarily closed the school near the end of the winter session. Apparently nobody connected the pools of filth in the rear of the privies, repeatedly reported in later board meetings, with the nearby well of clear water. Attacks of typhoid were present elswhere and the one at Millersville was not viewed with unusual alarm and did not reduce the attendance at the spring session.

CHAPTER III

Administration and Finance

MILLERSVILLE AS A STOCK COMPANY

AS was mentioned briefly in a previous chapter, the Lancaster County Normal School was a stock company organized by prominent local citizens. Stock was sold for twenty-five dollars per share. It was perfectly legal to declare dividends on these shares, and frequently the promise of a dividend was stressed in the selling of the stock. Governor James Pollock at the Harvest Home meeting of 1857 used the same argument in an attempt to persuade his hearers to buy Normal School Stock. The idea of being a benefactor and at the same time getting a return on the "investment" seemed attractive enough to many of his audience to induce them to raise the subscription list by about $8,000. One of the newspapers declared that it knew of "no similar enterprise in which an investment would be more certain of yielding a handsome return." As far as the records indicate, only one attempt was made to declare a dividend, even though the matter of a dividend was discussed a number of times officially and unofficially.

According to the audit by J. G. Peters, son of the "venerable" President Abraham Peters, made on September 6, 1873, 1,092 shares had been issued at twenty-five dollars per share, making a total liability of $27,300. These sales were nearly all made at par value in the first few years after 1856. Four shares of stock had been given to Thomas H. Burrowes, who is listed as having owned only the four shares presented to him for "professional services" as a lawyer. Two shares were given to the Normal Literary Society by resolution of the Board of Trustees. These shares were subsequently sold to the Murray Young and Company, whose legatee sold them in 1871 to Andrew M. Frantz. Two shares were also given to the Page Literary Society for resale to buy books.

When no dividends were paid, a number of shareholders lost interest and sold the stock for what it would yield on the market. The shares dropped considerably in value and some of them were advertised in the Lancaster papers as "for sale cheap for cash." Even the Trustees themselves regarded the stock as of little cash value in 1873 when they instructed one of their members to secure two shares for E. O. Lyte (to pay for trees furnished by his father) at a price not to exceed seven dollars.

However, the stock did have value in that it was the basis for control of the institution. At a meeting of stockholders on May 8, 1860, it was decided to assign votes for the election of Trustees to blocks

of stock according to the following schedule: 1 share, 1 vote; 4 shares, 2 votes; 8 shares, 3 votes; 15 shares, 4 votes; 25 shares, 5 votes.

It seems quite evident that it was the design of the state and also of the stockholders meeting of 1860 not to allow control to fall into a limited number of hands, as is possible in a commercial corporation.

From time to time the question of donating stock to the Normal School was discussed, as was also the question of a return on the investment. The records of outright donations are few. Instead there appeared to be more of a concern for the "claims of the stockholders" than an interest in donation. Eight years later the Board of Trustees was still concerned about a return on the stock and, after discussing the matter "at length," it was resolved on motion of Andrew M. Frantz, who was the holder of a substantial block of shares, "that it is the opinion of this Board of Trustees that the time has arrived when the stockholders of this institution are entitled and of right ought to receive some return for the money invested by them." At the same meeting a committee of five Trustees, three of them heavy stockholders, was appointed to consult with State Superintendent James P. Wickersham. The committee with the approval of Dr. Wickersham worked out a plan by which the school offered to buy the stock at the original price of twenty-five dollars and either pay cash for it or give a certificate of indebtedness with interest.

Provision was made for stock to be contributed to the institution in exchange for contributors' shares. The committee reported that the "best authority and information" indicated that the holders of contributors' shares had the same rights as the holders of the original shares, with the exception of the right to receive a dividend. In other words, the contributors elected the members of the Board of Trustees and nominated candidates to the Superintendent of Public Instruction for appointment as state trustees as provided by law in 1875. The same committee that negotiated with Dr. Wickersham was appointed to secure the signing of an agreement by all the stockholders to sell or donate their stock. The Finance Committee was instructed to provide ways and means of redeeming the stock. By May 4, 1878, stockholders had agreed to sell 873 shares and to donate 195.

The most important donations and sales are listed below:

Name	*Number of Shares Contributed*	*Number of Shares Sold*
George K. Reed	35	168
Jacob M. Frantz	25	116
Andrew M. Frantz	20	59
David Hartman	15	58
Jonas B. Martin	2	71
P. W. Hiestand	12	72
Abraham Peters	4	10

Edward Brooks	10	0
Barton B. Martin	0	all
E. O. Lyte	2	0

From the brief summary given above it is evident that George K. Reed, Jacob M. Frantz and a number of their associates stood to profit from the sale of stock to the Normal School. It is true that their donations were generous, but in spite of that it was still possible to make considerable money out of the transaction. The Stock Record Books clearly show that most of the stock held by Mr. Reed, the Lancaster banker, was acquired after the shares had substantially declined in price. As was stated before, the Trustees themselves in 1873 did not regard the shares as worth more than seven dollars. Since it is unreasonable to suppose that a banker would pay twenty-five dollars per share for stock that was available for seven dollars, it can be stated with a high degree of certainty that Mr. Reed profited by the decision of the Board to redeem the stock.

There was nothing illegal about the decision of Mr. Reed and others to buy large holdings of shares at a nominal price when the general confidence in the payment of dividends was low and then to find themselves in a position to profit from their holdings. A similar situation existed when wealthy patriots during the Revolutionary War were wise or shrewd enough to buy considerable numbers of depreciated certificates of indebtedness issued by the Continental Congress, which were redeemed at par at the insistence of Alexander Hamilton. Just as there was a protest after the Hamiltonian redemption, so at Millersville there apparently was a resentment strong enough to last until 1910, when E. O. Holland was informed about the matter in personal interviews.

From 1878 to 1917 the holders of contributors' shares regularly elected trustees to represent them and also nominated candidates from which the State Superintendent of Public Instruction appointed the state trustees. Directly after 1878, the 189 contributors' shares were spread among forty-four holders. As time passed, the shares of contributors gradually were acquired by fewer holders. In 1912 the number of contributors, who virtually controlled the Millersville State Normal School, numbered only twenty-five. The total original par value of the 189 contributors' shares was only $4,725. The majority of these shares were held by Principal E. O. Lyte, who in 1904 increased his holdings to 111 of the total of 189 shares. These holdings were acquired mostly from Jacob M. Frantz (twenty-seven shares), Andrew M. Frantz (thirty-five shares), L. C. Reisner (thirty-seven shares), and Edward Brooks (ten shares).

Fortunately for Millersville, the control of the majority of stock was in safe hands. Ostensibly, the only reason Dr. Lyte acquired the majority of stock was to prevent it from falling into the hands of people

whose policies he might not approve. As far as can be determined, Dr. Lyte never misused the potential power of his 111 shares. This was by no means the case in all the normal schools. In some cases banks and businessmen secured control of other normal schools for largely business reasons. The system had vicious possibilities. If Dr. Lyte had not been an honorable man and devoted to the best interests of education, he could have distributed his shares among trusted friends and thus dictated the selection of trustees who would do his bidding. Such control could have been exercised for a number of years, in view of the fact that the state did not exercise as much control as the private interests until well toward the state purchase of Millersville in 1917.

When the Millersville State Normal School passed completely under the control of the State of Pennsylvania in 1917, the contributors' shares were redeemed at the par value of twenty-five dollars, thus terminating sixty-two years of private endeavor in the field of teacher training.

Since 1878, Millersville was the only Pennsylvania state normal school in the nineteenth century that set up a plan by which the paying of dividends was rendered impossible. Even though Wickersham very early emphatically pointed out that it was a serious mistake to allow dividends to be paid on normal school stock and that the possibility of such dividends being declared was a constant source of trouble, Millersville was the only school to follow his advice completely.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF PRINCIPAL JAMES P. WICKERSHAM 1855-1866

The principalship of Wickersham was a critical period in the history of the Normal School. It was necessary to give direction to all aspects of the institution. Much that was untried had to be introduced and discarded if found wanting. New courses were instituted that served as stepping stones for other institutions of a similar type. A model school that held high rank in Pennsylvania was established. Methods of organizational procedure had to be worked out. The institution required financing, always a serious problem. Support for the new institution had to be built and maintained at a time when much opposition to public education still existed. Much of the credit for the success of the infant institution undoubtedly belongs to the able and energetic principal, James P. Wickersham, who had unbounded faith in the normal school movement and who also had a high degree of faith in himself. The egotism of Professor Wickersham was fortunately combined with an earnestness and an abiding faith in the improvability of man that produced a leader who was almost universally respected and in the presence of whom many people stood in awe.

The Board of Trustees had from the beginning divided the re-

sponsibility for managing the Normal School between the Principal and the Steward. Of these officials the Principal was the more important but he had no definite and direct authority over the Steward. The Steward operated the boarding department quite independently under a set of fees and regulations approved by the Board of Trustees. He collected his fees directly from the students and paid the equivalent of rent for the use of the buildings. The Steward was responsible for the purchase of all equipment and supplies, including coal, with which to operate the boarding house. The fee for room and board was two dollars and fifty cents per week, including coal oil for the lights and ten pieces washed for the boys (eleven for the girls). Tuition ranged from seven dollars and fifty cents to eleven dollars per quarter of eleven weeks depending on the course.

The Steward seemed to have difficulty in satisfying the students, many of whom came from the "Pennsylvania Dutch" farming areas where substantial meals were a tradition, and in satisfying the Trustees who were interested in retaining as many students as possible. L. M. Hobbs, as we have seen, was driven into a frantic act of escape by the constant pressure of the Trustees on the one hand and the demands of the students on the other. His successor, Mr. Bare, felt much of the same pressure. The students wanted more substantial and varied fare and did not always wish to make too much use of the everpresent molasses mug and apple butter jars. Even when the dining room came under the direct control of the Trustees, complaints continued from time to time to flow from the students until the present time. Mr. Bare was directed to make out a bill of fare two weeks in advance and to post it for the inspection of a visiting committee of the Board of Trustees. Mr. Bare was also directed not to graze his cows on the lot without permission from the Trustees. A special meeting of the Board of Trustees, of which Bare was a member, was called to hear the complaints against the Steward.

The price fixed by agreement between the Steward and the Trustees for rent per pupil per quarter was three dollars and fifty cents. With an average of only 133 pupils boarding during the first summer of the Civil War, the Trustees received a total payment of $465.50 for the last quarter of rent. Even when the Steward had a difficult time making ends meet with a reduced enrollment of boarding students, the Trustees were not unmindful of bargains that might be struck. In the summer of 1862, in addition to an increase in rent voted twelve to one, Mr. Bare was required to manure the grounds in return for the grass he removed to feed his cows.

Until the summer of 1863, Mr. Bare, the Steward, had been somewhat independent of the strong personality of Principal Wickersham. Principal Wickersham appeared to operate most effectively when he was in the driver's seat. The incident with John J. Stoddard in 1855

indicated that a co-partnership between Wickersham and another person tended toward trouble. It was therefore quite natural to expect that the co-partnership of Principal and Steward would not continue very long. As the first step in the discontinuance of the dual administration, the Board of Trustees agreed that in future contracts with the Steward, it was to be stated that the Principal was to be authorized to give directions to the Steward from time to time concerning his duties. Furthermore, in the absence of the Board, the Steward was to be responsible to the Principal (Wickersham) for the performance of his contract.

Apparently Mr. Bare did not wish to lose his independent status and became dissatisfied with the "considerable complaint" of the boarding students and the investigations of the Household Committee. Whereupon, Mr. Bare resigned and Mr. Wickersham moved that a special meeting of the Trustees be called to consider the resignation and to buy the furniture. Mr. Bare offered to sell his furniture for $4,500 but the Board of Trustees was not ready to buy it and appointed two of its members, Jacob K. Shenk and Jacob M. Frantz to "bargain" on the selling price of the furniture. Jacob M. Frantz, popularly known as "Yankee" Frantz because of his shrewd bargaining tactics and his note-shaving practices, secured the furniture for $3,500. Mr. Bare was at a slight disadvantage in the bargaining, with so much institutional furniture on his hands and with "Yankee" Frantz on the other side of the bargaining table.

Jacob N. Metzgar, a member of the Board of Trustees, was hired by the Household Committee to serve as Steward under the general supervision of Professor Wickersham. This was an awkward position for a member of the Board of Trustees, to serve under the supervision of an employee of the Board. Early in 1864 Samuel G. Behmer was employed as the first prefect in the history of the school at a salary of $400 per annum. Mrs. Elizabeth Worshing was hired as matron.

This action of the Board terminated completely the independent status of the boarding department, which continued to be a common practice in other normal schools. In one case the normal school itself was a form of concession operated by the principal for profit.

The policy of keeping pigs to consume the garbage was continued under the new management and was continued until the early nineties when the State Board of Health began to inspect the premises. A few improvements were made to decrease the number of complaints by the boarders. The mattresses were newly filled with fresh corn husks purchased from the "King of the Manor," Christian B. Herr, for $46.80.

When Mr. Metzgar, after a temporary engagement, resigned, he was succeeded by Samuel G. Behmer, who served as Steward until 1884, when he was succeeded by Christian Eiseman.

The Steward continued to be an important official and operated

his department without much interference. The chairman of the Household Committee signed orders payable to the Steward four or five times a month. The main responsibility for wise management rested with the Steward, under the ever watchful eyes of Principal Wickersham and the Household Committee.

On the last day of the inspection to determine whether or not the Lancaster County Normal School would be accepted as the First State Normal School in Pennsylvania, Thomas H. Burrowes, in a notable address to the group assembled to hear the preliminary report of the State Inspection Committee, praised the "sterling common sense and steadfast adherence to the right principle," of a state that contributed practically nothing except its name to the new Normal School. He rejoiced that in Pennsylvania the teacher training institutions were to be free from any connection with political considerations, and that "not a dollar has been given." He went on to say that "it is in the matters of civil, moral, and religious training that these schools will have their greatest advantage over normal institutions exclusively endowed and controlled by the State."

The Superintendent of Common Schools, Mr. Henry C. Hickok, who supervised the inspection and heard Mr. Burrowes' address, did not share the same enthusiasm for a policy of no support for state normal schools. He rejoiced that, "the professional abilities and force of character" of J. P. Wickersham had brought to recognition "this gigantic experiment," but his rejoicing was

> . . . moderated somewhat, however, by the reflection that it has cost the State nothing, and receives nothing from this rich and powerful Commonwealth in return for the large public benefits it will confer, except the security of vested rights in the normal district to which it belongs, and the authority given to its diplomas in all parts of the State.

In this same lucid and forceful report, Superintendent Hickok went on to say that the protection of the normal school system, the extension of the system into other districts, and the actual preparation of teachers required appropriations from the state. Governors Pollock and Packer had since 1857 regularly supported the idea of state-aided schools and had not been impressed with the opportunistic arguments of Burrowes or the reluctance of the Legislature to adequately support the common schools. Wickersham, also, it appears, had never been completely convinced of the correctness of Mr. Burrowes' shift from the public normal school to the private. In any case, Mr. Wickersham presented a strong argument for state support in his report to the Superintendent of Common Schools in November of 1860.

An appeal had been made by the Millersville Board of Trustees to Mr. Burrowes to support state aid, and in his first report as Superin-

tendent of Common Schools for the second time, Mr. Burrowes proceeded to ignore some of his sentiments delivered in the address at Millersville in December of 1859, when he rejoiced that the First State Normal School had not cost the state a cent. The newly appointed Superintendent of Common Schools, much to his credit, began to realize that state normal schools could not develop adequately without some state support and therefore recommended to the Legislature that $15,000 be appropriated to Millersville and that the same amount be appropriated to Edinboro after its recognition, which then appeared to be imminent. He pointed out that the appropriating of money to private schools was nothing new, and that some colleges had, in fact, received more than that from the state before the middle of the century.

The Legislature of 1861 followed the advice of Mr. Burrowes in part by unqualifiedly appropriating $5,000 to Millersville and $5,000 to Edinboro (accepted as a state normal school in 1861). This sum of money appeared to be small, but it must be remembered that the total state appropriation for school purposes, including normal schools, county superintendents' salaries, and common schools, was only $308,000.

The entire sum appropriated to Millersville was paid on debts, leaving a bonded indebtedness of $12,800 and temporary loans of $8,600.

For the year 1862, Mr. Burrowes recommended to the Legislature an appropriation of $5,000 to Edinboro. He stated that Edinboro was financed by a free donation of the people while Millersville was a stock company in which the stockholders could receive dividends. Therefore, the latter should receive the $5,000 appropriation from the state only on condition that $5,000 of the capital stock be cancelled. Whereupon, the Legislature appropriated $5,000 to Edinboro and nothing to Millersville. A token payment of $300 to Millersville was included in the House bill but the supporters of the school in the Senate struck out the provision entirely. The $5,000 appropriation had been withheld from Millersville largely because of the emphasis that Burrowes had given to the possibility of dividend payments being made at Millersville as contrasted to the picture as he saw it at Edinboro. Millersville was far from pleased with the recommendation of its old friend, who could be rather peevish on occasion. After the damage had been done, Burrowes in his next report to the Legislature generously explained that he was in error and, to even up the score, recommended a $5,000 appropriation for Millersville and a $5,000 appropriation to Mansfield, the newly recognized state normal school of the fifth district. No appropriation was recommended for Edinboro and none was passed.

The Legislature of 1863 made the appropriations as requested by Mr. Burrowes and attached the proviso that an equivalent amount of

capital stock was to be cancelled and that no more than six per cent in dividends was to be paid on the reduced capital stock.

Debts were paid, but there does not appear to have been a strict and literal interpretation of the law which called for the reduction of capital stock at Millersville.

The $5,000 appropriation was paid to Millersville at a most critical time. Captain Andrew R. Byerly, an outstanding member of the faculty, had gone off to war. The Normal School was closed during the summer of 1863. Many students had rushed home in alarm when the Confederates threatened to cross the Susquehanna River into Lancaster County. Scores of the boys in the last two years had joined the army. Professor Wickersham himself was commissioned by Governor Andrew G. Curtin, the former Superintendent of Common Schools, as the Colonel of the three months' 47th Regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteers. The loss of revenue as a result of the closing of the school would have been almost disastrous without the state appropriation. The summer sessions were usually quite profitable.

Neither Millersville nor Edinboro, both of which had received $10,000 from the state, received a legislative appropriation in 1864. Mansfield State Normal School in Tioga County received $5,000 which it needed very badly. However, the Legislature in 1865 appropriated $5,000 to each of the state normal schools recognized up to that date—Millersville, Edinboro, and Mansfield. The former stipulation concerning a reduction in capital stock was not repeated.

Before Wickersham retired from the principalship of the Millersville State Normal School in 1866, he realized another great step in the development of the "Old Normal." He had on many occasions recommended direct help to the students in the form of free tuition. His recommendations had impressed Mr. Coburn, the Superintendent of Common Schools, who in 1865 recommended to the Legislature that an appropriation of five thousand dollars be made to each of the three state normal schools, upon condition that four-fifths of the sum appropriated to each school should be used "to lessen the expenses of students of proper age, who attend the schools for the sole purpose of qualifying themselves for the business of teaching, and the remaining one-fifth to be applied to the purchase of furniture and apparatus.

Acting on the general recommendation of Mr. Coburn and Professor Wickersham, the Legislature in the annual session of 1866, included in the general appropriations act a provision setting aside $10,000 for the financing of certain grants to students. Fifty cents per week was to be paid toward the tuition of every student seventeen years of age or over who declared his written intention to teach in the common schools of the state. Students of Pennsylvania who had been disabled as a result of war service or whose father lost his life in such service, were to be granted an allowance of one dollar per week, which

in some cases was slightly more than was necessary to cover tuition. All graduates were to receive fifty dollars on pledging themselves to teach in the common schools of the state for two years. This last provision was designed to encourage more students to graduate. Since the beginning of the school many students were in the habit of attending for short periods of time and at irregular intervals. Very often the school resembled a bee hive with several hundred students at work but with a steady flow coming and going almost every week. The improvement in regularity of attendance was hardly noticeable.

These payments by the state were made directly to the school and were credited to the accounts of the students.

Another interesting section of the law provided that "the price of boarding and tuition, as fixed by the respective boards of trustees of the several schools, and approved by the superintendent of schools, shall be the same for all students pursuing similiar studies." This section of the law was not strictly followed at Millersville where it was common practice to grant discounts to the children of ministers.

Before Dr. Wickersham left Millersville, the bonded indebtedness had been reduced to a point where new buildings were under contemplation. The school was soundly managed. With Dr. Wickersham's help, the school was given favorable attention by the state. The state had assumed in a small way the financial responsibility that experience had shown in other states to belong to the representatives of the people.

The fact that Dr. Wickersham had been President of the Lancaster County Teachers Association in 1853, a founder and President of the Pennsylvania State Teachers Association in 1855, and a founder and President of the National Education Association in 1865, added much to the prestige of Millersville.

The Millersville State Normal School was in a very satisfactory educational, financial, and administrative condition when it was handed over to the able hands of Dr. Edward Brooks, the newly appointed Principal.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF PRINCIPAL EDWARD BROOKS
1866-1883

Professor Edward Brooks was a suitable man to occupy the principalship. He had already acquired a considerable reputation as the author of a series of mathematics texts that had a wide circulation until the end of the century. He had also impressed many hundreds of teachers with his well-prepared addresses to institutes, literary societies, and church groups. Throughout almost the entire history of the normal schools as private institutions, it was necessary for the Principal to reenforce continually his favorable reputation before the public with the idea of thus gaining students. It was not long before the competition for students became rather vigorous.

A principal of a normal school had to be a diplomat, and with only one or two glaring exceptions in 1881, Dr. Brooks fitted that description. Also it was necessary for a principal to be able to work with political leaders at Harrisburg, many of whom were not impressed with the need for increased appropriations to teacher training institutions and had to be convinced of their responsibility to the children of the state. The minutes of the Board of Trustees clearly indicate that Dr. Brooks possessed a zeal for service that was commendable.

It was during the administration of Edward Brooks that the gains made in state support during the principalship of Wickersham were consolidated and fixed in practice. As will be pointed out, these gains in financial support were secured at the expense of more state controls. Principal Brooks was generally in favor of more state financial support and worked diligently in that direction, but he was not always ready to accept the logical consequences of his acts.

Even before the Law of 1866, providing for state aid to teacher training students, went into effect, Professor Brooks began a campaign that he continued for years to double the weekly allowance. The weekly allowances apparently were liberally applied for. It was a relatively simple matter for a student to collect twenty-two dollars per year by merely signing a statement of intent to teach. No penalties were provided for accepting either the fifty cents per week or the fifty dollars on graduation without fulfilling the pledges. In 1867 the Legislature attempted to remedy the situation by requiring "that each student in a normal school, drawing an allowance from the state, must receive regular instruction in the science and art of teaching in a special class, devoted to that object, for the whole time such an allowance is drawn."

Apparently some of the normal schools merely enrolled everybody interested in the fifty cents a week appropriation in large lecture groups and thus made it necessary for State Superintendent Wickersham to point out that such teacher classes did not meet the intent of the law. Professor Brooks explained at some length that Millersville was complying with the law and that the undergraduates received two or three lectures a week on which notes were required. He also emphasized that a textbook was used. David P. Page, *Theory and Practice of Teaching*; James P. Wickersham, *Methods of Instruction* and James P. Wickersham, *School Economy* were the textbooks employed in class instruction. In cases where the spirit of the act and the instructions of Wickersham were not followed, there was little that the State Superintendent could do, since his connection with the schools was mostly that of inspection and approval, with moral suasion as a strong factor. Since the prosperity of the school depended on numbers of students, and since the state appropriations encouraged increased numbers, it was logical to expect that there would be some deviations. During the

period of time that Brooks was principal at Millersville (1866-1883), the state appropriation for the fifty cents per week allowance and the $50 paid on graduation increased in all the state normal schools from $10,000 to $40,000 per year. But still the normal schools furnished only a small part of the teachers needed from year to year.

During this period the state normal schools were under considerable fire. They were blamed for not preparing enough teachers for the profession. They were criticized severely for being too academic-minded and for admitting too many academic pupils. But generally speaking the state normal schools were the victims of circumstances. In order to exist they had to admit academic students and also pupils with rather meagre educational qualifications. There were not enough properly qualified teaching candidates to keep the schools operating efficiently and since few institutions wished to admit defeat and welcome death, the normal schools in many cases did what they were accused of doing through force of circumstances. The crux of the whole problem appeared to be the low state of teachers' salaries and the refusal of the people generally and of the Legislature to face the problem and remedy the deficiencies.

In an investigation conducted by State Superintendent J. P. Wickersham into the wages of 5,057 employees in twenty-four manufacturing establishments, it was discovered that the average monthly wage of illiterates was thirty dollars; of those who could read a little, forty-six dollars; of those who could read well but were otherwise poorly educated, fifty-five dollars; and of those who were well educated, eighty-five dollars. In contrast with these wages, male teachers in the state of Pennsylvania received an average of $35.87 per month and female teachers received on an average $27.51 per month. When the length of term is taken into consideration, both men and women teachers received considerably less in income than the average illiterate industrial worker. The facts were plain to see, but Wickersham's contrasts did not materially change the thinking of a people who were still relatively close to the era of pauper schools.

Professor Brooks strove earnestly to answer the critics of the normal schools as did a number of his associates throughout the state, but logic did not appear to be a completely effective weapon, as is so often the case. Professor Brooks insisted that the normal schools were rendering a commendable service in improving the instruction of the thousands of teachers and prospective teachers who could afford only short periods of education. In other words, the teaching situation was still bad but it would have been worse but for the efforts of the state normal schools. With a total of 15,209 teachers in 1867, 14,653 provisional certificates, good for one year only, were issued by the county superintendents. In the same year only 164 professional certificates were issued by the county superintendents. 1,900 prospective teachers were rejected. If

more had been rejected, schools would have remained closed in direct proportion to the number of rejections.

In other words, the county superintendents, some of whom were not well educated themselves, took the best of the available candidates and found only 164 in 1867 who were considered to be superior teachers.

Competent administrators like Brooks of Millersville and Ermentrout of Kutztown, displayed a missionary zeal that was altogether commendable. In the long fight for state support of normal schools and the elevation of the teaching "profession", they not infrequently encountered criticism from the State Teachers Association which blamed them for faults that could not rightly be laid at their doors.

The state officials believed that part of the difficulty in the normal school system lay in an almost complete lack of state control. Deputy Superintendent Coburn, who had been Wickersham's predecessor, recommended in 1867 "that the State Superintendent of Common Schools shall be an ex-officio member of the board of trustees of each school, to such an extent that it shall require his official approval to legalize the appointment of a principal" and that the Superintendent should be chairman of the State Board of Examiners which passed on all prospective state normal school graduates.

Deputy Superintendent Coburn's report was the introduction to a stronger report from the Superintendent himself the following year. Mr. Wickersham pointed out to the legislators the defects of the normal school system as follows:

1. It was a mistake to allow dividends to be paid on normal school stock. Continual irritations and trouble arose over the matter. He said that normal schools were degraded by being put on a joint stock basis.

2. There were too many academic students. He said that 770 of 1,702 state normal school students were academics.

3. The Superintendent's only official relation with the state normal schools was that of approval. He had no real power of enforcement. The Superintendent clearly should have authority to correct abuses.

4. The mode of examining graduates was defective.

These recommendations were partly to bear fruit a few years later.

While Wickersham was working to increase the authority of the State Superintendent, which effort appeared to be reasonable and logical, a change in the state financial policy toward the normal schools was effected. Up to 1869 each state normal school was given $15,000 after recognition by the state. Now in 1869 the Legislature appropriated $15,000 to the school at California before recognition, contingent upon the expenditure of specific sums for material improvements.

This new practice was continued with other schools—Shippensburg,

Indiana, and Lock Haven. A further deviation from the regular practice occurred in 1872 when the Legislature appropriated $10,000 unconditionally to the recognized schools of California, Bloomsburg, and Mansfield, raising the total appropriation to $25,000 for each school. At the same time appropriations were denied to Millersville, Edinboro, and Kutztown.

Principal Brooks did not like the policy of expanding the number of normal schools. He believed that five, or at the most seven, well-managed schools, well supported by the state, would be an honor to the great Commonwealth. The following year, Superintendent Wickersham voiced much the same opinion. Numerous efforts were made to increase the number of normal school districts for the purpose of establishing schools in special localities. But the State Superintendent vigorously opposed all such moves unless demanded by "broad considerations of public policy." He went on to say that "a few strong schools will accomplish more good than many weak ones." He was also displeased with the special appropriations to three of the schools and mentioned in general terms the great services rendered by Millersville which had been denied an appropriation. He went on to say:

> The state has not been too liberal towards any school, but it should deal fairly with them. The right thing to be done now is to equalize the appropriation and then, thereafter, discard all special legislation. Favoritism is a frightful source of ill feeling, and, if persisted in, will in the end cripple the whole system.

Superintendent Wickersham called the principals to Harrisburg on December 2, 1873, for the purpose of modifying the Normal School Law of 1857. The group drafted a bill which provided in part that the normal school districts should remain as constituted by the Law of 1857. The Legislature proceeded to ignore the advice of the principals and the Superintendent and divided the eighth normal school district into the eighth and thirteenth districts. Superintendent Wickersham protested strongly against the special legislation. Professor Brooks of Millersville was in complete accord with this reaction against the special legislation of the last few years. He stated that it was the State Normal School at Millersville that had been most adversely effected by the special appropriations and by what was considered unnecessary competition.

It will now be necessary to go back to 1871 to trace the other interests of the state in the control of the normal schools. In that year State Superintendent James P. Wickersham recommended:

> That the State Superintendent shall with the advice and consent of the Governor, appoint on or before the first of May, annually, three citizens of each normal school district in which a normal school is in operation, to act as trustees on the part

of the State in the boards of trustees of the several normal schools.

C. R. Coburn, the former State Superintendent, and Wickersham had referred to this matter a number of times and now the Legislature was ready to act. Early in the legislative session of 1872 an act was passed providing for the appointment of two citizens of each normal school district having a recognized school, to the board of trustees of every school. The Legislature had to date appropriated to the normal schools $190,516.79 for buildings, debt payments, libraries and apparatus and had extended aid to the students in the amount of $94,298.49. Mr. Wickersham was pleased with the action of the Legislature because he believed that the broadening of the administrative base would give the normal schools a greater degree of public confidence and would "blend more harmoniously the private and the public interests represented in the schools." Some of the schools had already given too much evidence of private interests dominating the public welfare. The Millersville authorities were not enthusiastic about the law but after thoroughly discussing "the propriety of accepting or refusing the provisions of a law recently passed" the Board decided to accept the provisions of the law on motion of Andrew M. Frantz. Judge A. L. Hayes of Lancaster, who had been first elected a Trustee in 1860, was appointed a state Trustee, as was also State Senator John B. Warfel, editor of the *Lancaster New Era*. Judge Hayes served until 1875 and Senator Warfel until 1907, both with devotion to Millersville. The total number of Trustees was twenty-five, including the two state Trustees. This was an entering wedge for more state control.

In 1873, the Legislature passed a law appropriating to the normal schools already recognized a sum of $50,000 to be distributed by the Governor, the Attorney General, and the Superintendent of Common Schools,

> . . . on such terms and conditions as they may determine, looking to the interests of the State as well as to the welfare of the schools, except that the board of trustees of each school accepting its allotment of the appropriation now made, shall hereafter be composed of a number of members not exceeding fifteen, to be elected by the stockholders, as now provided by law, and appointed under the provisions of the act approved the fifteenth day of February, 1872, in the proportion, as nearly as may be practicable, to the amounts of money each school has received from private sources, exclusive of its own earnings, and from the state, respectively.

On the recommendation of Principal Brooks, the Millersville Board of Trustees refused to accept the appropriation of 1873 on the conditions under which it was available. The appropriation was, therefore, divided equally among Edinboro, Mansfield, Kutztown, Bloomsburg, and West

Chester. The five schools were required to execute mortgages in favor of the State of Pennsylvania for the amounts appropriated. Bloomsburg was in such a precarious financial condition that additional mortgages were required to safeguard the interests of the Commonwealth.

Millersville had on several occasions shown a reluctance to have state controls extended over the normal schools. It is entirely possible that a satisfactory local financial picture put Millersville in a somewhat more independent frame of mind than the other schools could display and partly accounted for the refusal to accept $10,000 with the conditions as noted above. Millersville had paid off the bonded indebtedness acquired in 1868 in order to construct a large addition to the Ladies' Building. She was more securely entrenched, bigger in student body, and in better financial condition than any of the sister state normal schools. Millersville was indignant and publicly stated that even if an "unappreciative legislature" decided to continue to support younger and less deserving institutions without making appropriations to the oldest school, Millersville would, nevertheless, continue with her building plans in spite of no support from the state.

However, Millersville did not stand by her determination to start the building program regardless of what the State did. When the State Superintendent called a meeting of representatives from the normal schools early in December of 1873, Millersville sent a committee consisting of Judge A. L. Hayes, Principal Brooks, Senator John B. Warfel, Representative J. G. Peters, and Jacob M. Frantz. Wickersham laid before the meeting a bill framed by him proposing an increase in the number of trustees appointed by the state, limiting the number of trustees elected by the stockholders to a smaller number, denying the right of voting by proxy for members of the boards of trustees and a number of other changes. Some of these changes in the direction of greater state control were inevitable and the representatives finally, after some amendments, approved the bill, although Professor Brooks continued to press for changes which the State Superintendent promised would be made.

Instead of passing the bill prepared by Wickersham, the 1874 Legislature postponed action on most of its features until the annual session of 1875. Agitation on the part of the normal schools was strong for a state appropriation in 1874. The Legislature had not yet felt the full impact of the panic of 1873 and appropriated $60,000 to be distributed among the normal schools on terms similar to those established in 1873, except that the number of trustees was set at eighteen instead of fifteen. The law also stated that normal schools with an indebtedness of more than $25,000 or without buildings, furniture and apparatus as required by law would not be recognized. Poorly managed normal schools in bad financial condition had caused the state considerable difficulty and were to cause more problems.

Senator Warfel, early in May of 1874, informed the Millersville Board of Trustees, of which he was a state-appointed member since 1872, that Millersville could get its share of the appropriation "without restrictions." At the same board meeting a unanimous decision was made to start the building program. After the official notification from J. P. Wickersham that an appropriation had been made to the normal schools, Millersville forgot its indignant stand and lost no time in appointing a strong committee for the purpose of consulting with the Governor, the Superintendent of Public Instruction, and the Attorney-General with the purpose of procuring "our share of the appropriations." The Millersville committee lost no time in presenting its wants, and by October 3, 1874, Wickersham reported in person to the school for the purpose of informing it of a $15,000 allocation. Of the $60,000 appropriated for distribution by the Governor, the Superintendent of Public Instruction, and the Attorney-General, Millersville secured the largest amount to compensate for what was lost in 1873. One school received $10,000 and the remainder of the recognized schools $5,000 each thus leveling off the amounts for 1873 and 1874.

The money appropriated by the state was to be used for payment of debts or for permanent improvements. As was true in 1873, mortgages were required to be executed on all the real estate in favor of the state. The recently established practice of aiding the schools in financial distress was continued and Lock Haven and Indiana received special appropriations.

The Millersville authorities had fared quite well in the distribution of 1874 in spite of special appropriations to other schools judged to be in greater need, and returned to Harrisburg with a renewed determination to secure greater appropriations for 1875. Professor Brooks and Jacob M. Frantz saw Governor Hartranft who "expressed himself favorable to all needful measures to sustain the interest of the normal schools." They also urged J. P. Wickersham to apply for $100,000 for the normal schools. But unfortunately the effects of the panic of 1873 were still evident and the Legislature was not inclined to do more than appropriate the $1,000,000 required by the New Constitution of 1873 to be made for the support of the common schools. However, the Legislature considered the suggestion made by Wickersham, and modified by the principals in 1873 and 1874, and wrote a new law for the control of the normal schools. The Law of 1875 controlled the relations of the state and the state normal schools for many years and its provisions will therefore be given in some detail.

1. The boards of trustees were made up of eighteen members, twelve to be elected by the contributors or stockholders and six to be appointed from a list of twelve nominations made by the contributors or stockholders. If the nominations made by the normal school associations were unsatisfactory, the Superintendent could appoint others with the advice and consent of the Governor. The terms of office

were three years and after the first appointment or election four local trustees and two state trustees were annually appointed for a three-year term.

Seven members constituted a quorum.

By-laws hereafter were to be approved by the Superintendent of Public Instruction.

To give the state trustees real authority the law stipulated that a three-fourths vote of the members present was necessary in cases where the ayes and nays were called. The three-fourths vote was somewhat too stringent and was in part repealed in 1877.

2. Appropriations to the normal schools were to be distributed by a commission consisting of the governor, the superintendent of public instruction, and the attorney-general, "on such conditions as shall protect the interests of the state and to do exact and equal justice to the several schools."

3. No state normal school was to be recognized with an indebtedness exceeding one-third the value of the property.

4. Meetings of the board of principals were to be called by the Superintendent on the request of three normal school principals.

5. Four out of five votes of the boards of examiners were necessary to graduate from state normal schools.

Millersville accepted the Law of 1875. The two appointments made by the state in 1872, Senator Warfel and Judge Hayes, were eminently desirable to Millersville and there appeared to be no expressed fear that the superintendent might ignore their nominations. As a matter of fact, from 1875 to 1917 the superintendent never failed to accept the nominations of the Millersville contributors. It seems evident that Millersville recognized the trend of affairs and accepted it, knowing full well that control and support have a tendency to vary in a mathematically direct proportion.

The Legislature of 1877 recognized the obligation of the state to make regular appropriations to the state normal schools after 1875. In the Law of 1877, $50,000 was designated for 1875-1876, $50,000 for 1876-1877, and $75,000 for 1877, no general appropriation having been made during the sessions of 1875 and 1876.

Governor Hartranft, Attorney-General Lear, and Superintendent Wickersham studied the normal school system very carefully and justified their position in a written statement.

The Commission distributed the $175,000 as follows:

Indiana	$35,000	Millersville	$10,000
Shippensburg	30,000	Edinboro	10,000
California	25,000	Kutztown	10,000
Mansfield	20,000	West Chester	10,000
Bloomsburg	15,000	Lock Haven	10,000

The Commission explained that the debt-ridden schools secured

the larger amounts and courteously cautioned against the further creating of financial obligations without money to pay for such debts. Superintendent Wickersham in his own report to the Legislature was not quite as lenient, and said quite clearly, that, while there was no outright dishonesty in the management of the normal schools, there was unsound and extravagant management in several cases. The state had no choice in the matter but to keep all the schools solvent.

Millersville was well managed. It was the oldest Pennsylvania state normal school; it had rendered the most service; and it received the least total assistance from the state. Millersville proceeded by a piece-meal but steady method to expand its plant and paid its debts in a matter of a few years after each expansion. A policy of rigid economy was pursued and no debts were created in its entire history, the payment of which was not clearly forseeable at the time of their creation. As a result, Millersville had a hodge podge of architecture. Indiana and Shippensburg were not as meticulous in the creating of debts and had rather magnificent buildings for which the state was required in large part to pay in order literally to keep the sheriff off their doorsteps. Both the State Superintendent and Millersville recognized the fact that good management was, in a sense, penalized, but there was nothing that could be done at the moment. The best interests of the entire system were to be kept in mind.

The Legislature assumed the responsibility for making regular appropriations every year, but left the matter of the exact distribution in the hands of the Commission created in 1875—the governor, the attorney-general, and the superintendent of public instruction. After 1883, the Legislature distributed the general appropriations equally and every state normal school received the same basic appropriation, but not necessarily the same total appropriation since special legislation had not been eliminated. In fact, special appropriations were revived on a large scale in 1887.

By the end of the principalship of Edward Brooks, the state had definitely established the policy of regarding the normal schools as a part of the public school system and had assumed the responsibility for assisting regularly in their support. J. P. Wickersham, the first principal of the Millersville State Normal School and the Superintendent of Common Schools from 1866 to 1881, labored strenuously to achieve these results, as had also Professor Brooks. It must not be assumed, however, that the state took complete advantage of the opportunities that were at hand to control the normal schools. The state normal schools still essentially remained private schools with state subsidies, but the potential position of the state was much improved.

During the administration of Professor Brooks, the large board of trustees of the early years was reduced from an unwieldly thirty-five

members to twenty-five and by act of the Legislature to eighteen in 1875. Of all the Trustees during this period from 1866 to 1883, a remarkably large number served a long period of years and gave the institution a degree of stability that was lacking in some of the other sister institutions. The more important names, with years of service, are listed below:

Name	*Years*	*Office & Occupation*
Abraham Peters	1856-1881	President, 1856-1881 Businessman
Jacob M. Frantz	1856-1908	Treasurer, 1858-1866 Wealthy Farmer
Jonas B. Martin	1856-1857 1877-1920	Businessman
Dr. P. W. Hiestand	1857-1916	Secretary, 1859-1866 Treasurer, 1866-1904 Dentist
David Hartman	1858-1881	Sheriff Businessman
Judge A. L. Hayes	1860-1868 1870-1875	Lawyer
Andrew M. Frantz	1861-1911	Secretary, 1867-1911 Lawyer
George Levan	1862-1882	Banker
Jacob G. Peters	1864-1887	Businessman State Legislator
Charles Denues	1865-1866 1876-1900	Secretary, 1866-1867 Businessman
George K. Reed	1866-1897	President, 1881-1897 Banker
Jacob Bausman	1870-1892	
Hon. John B. Warfel	1872-1907	President, 1897-1907 Publisher & Editor
Hon. John M. Stehman	1873-1889	State Senator
Hon. John B. Livingston	1873-1903	Member of Legislature
H. M. Mayer	1880-1916	Wealthy Farmer

Under the by-laws, the Trustees were organized into six standing committees as follows in 1880 with their chairmen:

Standing Committees	*Chairmen*
1. Committee on Grounds and Buildings	Andrew M. Frantz
2. Library and Apparatus	Professor Brooks
3. School Furniture and Supplies	George Levan
4. Instruction and Discipline	Dr. P. W. Hiestand
5. Household	J. G. Peters
6. Finance	Jacob M. Frantz

In addition to these committees, a Conference Committee was organized about 1872. It was made up of the president of the Board of Trustees, the principal, and the chairmen of the standing committees. The object of this committee was to unite and coordinate the work and thus enable the chairman to give more effective aid to the principal in the management of the school. The Conference Committee was particularly useful in the period when the new chapel building was constructed in 1875. It made practically all decisions in connection with the construction of that important building. In addition to determining specifications, materials, wages, contracts, financing, and other matters relating to construction, it concerned itself with many other problems. The representation of the school at the Centennial Exposition in 1876, when Millersville won the Normal School award, was its concern. For a time it almost displaced the Committee on Instruction and Discipline in the appointment of teachers. Perhaps the biggest job assigned to the Conference Committee after the construction of the Chapel in 1875 was that which resulted from the following resolution:

> That the Conference Committee in conjunction with such counsel as they may avail themselves of be instructed to arrange and adopt such a change in the expenses of operating this Institution as shall be approximately, at least, commensurate with the general shrinkage of values and thus guarantee keeping its expenses within its income and protect it against all possible danger of financial embarassment.

Nothing radical was done to enforce the intent of the resolution, but the committee did see to it that the heavy debt created by the construction of the chapel in 1875 and the addition of a story to the Gentlemen's Building was brought under complete control by a somewhat more rigid economy than usual. In 1872, Brooks spoke of the Trustees thusly: "Though strongly inclined to an economical management, they are also liberal in the introduction of necessary improvements, manifesting an earnest desire that the institution shall in every way be prepared for its responsible work."

Before the life of the Conference Committee was terminated by board action in 1879, it was decided by the Trustees "that all bills hereafter shall be presented to the Board for their action before payment, excepting such bills as are made by Mr. Behmer, the Steward, under the application of the market money in his hands." This was an attempt to unify and consolidate the control of expenditures, but the resolution was not strictly followed in the future.

It is a rather remarkable fact that so large an institution was able to operate with reasonable efficiency without a budget and without a central business agency. The nearest approach to a central business agency was the Conference Committee which was dropped early in

January of 1879, whereupon the standing committees resumed their somewhat independent roles. Without a doubt, the diplomacy and tact of Principal Brooks aided in maintaining the smooth functioning of the machinery. His handling of student affairs was not, however, as successful in 1881 as the maintaining of the necessary equilibrium in the Board of Trustees and the Faculty. A student revolt that will be explained in another chapter took place and was reported to have been a factor in Brooks' leaving Millersville in 1883.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF PRINCIPAL B. F. SHAUB 1883-1887

The administration of Principal B. F. Shaub was not an outstanding one. The Faculty stood squarely behind Andrew R. Byerly for the post of principal but, at the insistence of Professor Brooks, extended the hand of welcome to Mr. Shaub. Numerous references in the *Normal Journal* and the minutes of the faculty indicate that Dr. Byerly was an outstanding faculty member, a patriarchal religious leader, an ex-captain of the Civil War, and well-known institute lecturer. The Board of Trustees was split on Shaub and Byerly, but decided to make the election of Mr. Shaub unanimous. There is no evidence that Professor Byerly ever took advantage of the faculty and student support that he inspired. He practiced the religion that he preached.

Principal Shaub had been superintendent of Lancaster County and was a scientific graduate of Millersville. He entered into his new position with humbleness and a reliance on divine guidance, but not with the energy of his predecessors. Vulgar references were sometimes made to his alleged lack of energy. His administration was uneventful. A standpipe, running water in parts of the buildings, and new and urgently needed water closets, were the main achievements. After four years, he resigned in a curt letter to the Board of Trustees. The letter of resignation was promptly accepted by a vote of seven to six. The usual resolutions of commendation were lacking and Professor E. Oram Lyte was elected at the same meeting, clear indications that the Board was not displeased by Mr. Shaub's decision to enter the carpet business in Lancaster.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF PRINCIPAL E. ORAM LYTE 1887-1912

The principalship of E. Oram Lyte covered an important part of the educational history of Pennsylvania from 1887 to 1912. In this period Dr. Lyte played an active role and in partial recognition of his services was elected to the high office of President of the National Education Association in 1898, an office that he filled in a capable manner. Wickersham was the only other Pennsylvania state normal school principal elected to this high honor.

The growth of the state normal schools in this period (1887-1912)

illustrates quite well the statement of Dr. Nathan C. Schaeffer, the former Principal of the Keystone State Normal School, that growth is subject to a complex set of factors in the total historical development. A fair interpretation of Dr. Schaeffer's statement would seem to remind us that state normal schools developed only as rapidly as the popular opinion of the state accepted the idea that a good common school education was desirable for everyone who was capable of profiting from such an experience. State normal schools did not grow in a vacuum but were very much related to the progress of the common schools. This was especially true of state financial support of the normal schools. From a mere third of a million dollars contributed by the state for all school purposes in 1859, when Millersville became a state normal school, the people of the state slowly and inevitably, with the encouragement of Wickersham, Brooks, Burrowes, Curtin and others, progressed to the point where they were willing to write into the Constitution of 1873 a mandate to the Legislature to appropriate at least one million dollars per annum for the advancement of the common schools. Better schools meant better teachers, and better teachers could be supplied most conveniently by better normal schools liberally and judiciously supported by the state. By 1891 the state legislative appropriation to the common schools, including state normal schools, which had come to be regarded as part of the common school system, had rather abruptly risen to $5,000,000.

In conjunction with increased appropriations went strictly humanitarian legislation that had a tendency to create conditions under which normal schools could thrive. The labor of children under twelve years of age was forbidden in mines and manufacturing establishments in 1887 under penalty of a $20 to $100 fine. A minimum term of six months had been set in the same year. The enforcement of these laws, however, left much to be desired. Permissive legislation had provided free and uniform textbooks in many, but not all of the districts. The great industrial commonwealth was belatedly and slowly making progress in the field of common schools and progress in that field was reflected in the attitude toward the state normal schools which in 1891 received $95,000 for student aid (weekly assistance of fifty cents plus fifty dollars at graduation), $90,000 per year for general maintenance and operation, and at least $211,500 in special appropriations.

Millersville received $50,000 of the special appropriation for a library and a natural science building. A committee of Trustees, consisting of Senator Amos H. Mylin, E. O. Lyte, John B. Warfel, editor of the *Lancaster New Era,* and George K. Reed, a member of the banking firm of Reed and McRann, made a strenuous non-partisan appeal for the special funds. Senator Mylin and Dr. Lyte were unusually active and late in the session of 1891 were able to report success. The $50,000 appropriation was generous, but it must be remembered that even with

the special appropriation Millersville still did not find itself as generously dealt with by the state as the other state normal schools. This was true on any basis of figuring that might be employed—years in existence, number of graduates, and number of students. The reason for this apparent discrimination was the greater need of the other schools. Millersville had always pursued a conservative financial policy and was therefore always solvent.

The gymnasium and the boiler house had been constructed in 1890 without aid from the state. The Library and the Science Building were begun with the $50,000 aid from the state. In 1892 a wing was attached to the girls' dormitory to house about a hundred students.

In 1893 the Legislature made special appropriations of $423,000 to the state normal schools, increased the state aid to students, and increased the equally distributed appropriation for maintenance and operation. Of the special appropriations, Millersville received $30,000 to complete the Library and the Science Building and $10,000 to install a system of electric lighting.

As will be seen in a later chapter, the $40,000 was not efficiently spent. Mr. James A. Warner, the architect of the Science Building and Library, was careless or incompetent, resulting in a great loss to the Normal School. There was so much study and time expended on the various electric systems by the Executive Committee, that the installations were never completed on the original project. When electricity was finally delivered to the school, the old wiring was obsolete and unsuited to the new inspection standards, thus causing a loss of the entire appropriation of $10,000 made by the state for the purpose.

During this same period of time a fifth story was added to both the Gentlemen's Building and to the Ladies' Building, in order to furnish rooms for the increased student population. All of these expansion projects were under the well nigh complete control of the Executive Committee, which was made up of the heads of standing committees, Principal Lyte, and the president of the Board of Trustees. Andrew M. Frantz was the chairman and H. M. Mayer was the faithful but unspectacular secretary. Andrew M. Frantz and Principal E. Oram Lyte were by far the most influential members of the Committee. A number of Trustees hesitated to cross or oppose Andrew M. Frantz and even Dr. Lyte weighed his words and action carefully when a difference of opinion arose with Mr. Frantz.

The early eighteen nineties were a period of unparalled expansion in the history of Millersville. The middle nineties were a period of slight uncertainty as a result of the Panic of 1893, whose effects seemed to hit the second district state normal school about two years later. In 1895 the Legislature partly defaulted on its student aid appropriations, which was also true in 1900. In spite of several uncertainties

Millersville continued to move forward. The improvements in the common school picture also helped the normal schools. Free textbooks were required by law in 1893. Dr. Schaeffer applauded this legislation, but was not enthusiastic about compulsory attendance in 1893, even though men like William T. Harris had called attention to the need for it a few years previously. Twenty-seven states already had compulsory attendance laws. In this, as in some other aspects, such as normal school developments, Pennsylvania was repeatedly recognized by its own school authorities as being somewhat retarded in comparison to Massachusetts, New York, and the Middle West.

Compulsory attendance in 1895 for all pupils from eight to thirteen years of age for a minimum period of sixteen weeks had a beneficial effect not only on the common schools but on the normal schools as well, although the effects were not immediately noticeable because of a fairly widespread disregard of the law.

After an agitation of more than thirty-five years on the part of Edward Brooks, Dr. Lyte, and other normal school men, the state finally consented in 1901 to the payment of the full tuition of all state normal school students seventeen years of age and over preparing to teach. The state tuition payment was fixed at $1.50 per week or sixty dollars per year as payment in full. The fifty dollar fee on graduation was abolished at the same time, causing Dr. Nathan C. Schaeffer, Superintendent of Public Instruction, to comment:

> This is a new departure in the normal school policy of Pennsylvania. It forever abolishes the payment of fifty dollars as a fee on graduation, and removes the pressure on the State Board of Examiners to graduate students who spent the last cent in getting an education and who were counting on the graduation fee for aid in payment of their tuition.

Principal G. M. D. Eckels regarded the payment of tuition as important but entirely too late. He said:

> We can scarcely think it possible that men deemed competent to legislate for a great state like Pennsylvania should have been so slow in recognizing such a plain and simple duty. Movements in education in Pennsylvania have, however, always moved slowly but have generally moved in the right direction.

The payment of tuition was a movement in the direction of assuming the same responsibility toward the training of teachers that had been assumed by the more progressive states in some cases forty years earlier. The weekly allowance remained at $1.50 per week until 1919 when it was increased to $2. Regular appropriations continued to be made for maintenance and operation until well past the time when the normal school properties were acquired by the state.

Another act of importance in 1901 indicated the direction of future

control. State normal schools were given the benefits of the exercise of the right of eminent domain.

The appropriation of funds to pay full tuition was not an unmixed blessing. It placed a premium on numbers and encouraged some of the state normal schools to send paid agents outside of their own districts to solicit students for the schools. Dr. Lyte in his annual report mentioned the matter strongly. He said that other schools were sending "drummers" into the field so generally that Millersville might be forced to do the same in self defense, although during this time Millersville's attendance was high.

Principal J. R. Flickinger of Lock Haven at the Board of Principals annual meeting in 1910 deplored the rivalry and jealousy among the schools and pointed out that paid agents outside the normal school's district created much animosity. "In our inordinate zeal for students," he said that the principals frequently forgot "the ethical side" in the competition they had created. His recommendation to stop the abuse was state ownership.

Millersville had been forced into the competition and did very well in the competition for students even after West Chester passed Millersville in total numbers of students, total cost of the plant, and total income near the turn of the century. The faculty members were asked to direct students toward Millersville, but no paid agents were ever employed. Millersville also followed along in the creation of all types of commercial, musical, and other courses to attract students. Dr. Lyte was honest in deploring a practice into which he felt that he was forced by the vigorous competition for students among the normal schools. His solution to the problem, which he repeated in every annual report for years, was (1) to limit all normal schools to the task of teacher training, (2) to limit the amount of state aid to students, but not the general maintenance and operation appropriations, that would be paid to any one school, and (3) to increase the academic standards. These measures, he believed, would eliminate the undesirable competition with business colleges, musical conservatories, and public high schools, and would enable a policy of cooperation to be pursued, especially with the latter. It would eliminate "the craze for big schools" into which nearly all the principals had fallen, including Dr. Lyte. It would eliminate the kind of bidding implied in the following paragraph of a letter received by Dr. Lyte:

> Whichever party [West Chester or Millersville] gives me the widest margin in regard to payments may have the privilege of developing what little brains I may be supposed to possess.

Dr. Lyte, as the owner of the majority of the 189 contributors' shares at Millersville, did not agree with the principals of Lock Haven, West Chester, California, and Edinboro to the effect that state ownership of the state normal schools was desirable. But he was an honest and

intelligent man and could fathom the inevitable historical trend of which Dr. Schaeffer had spoken. There were indications that the state might be expected to assume ownership. Only three normal schools—West Chester, Millersville, and Kutztown—were in possession of property that was worth more than the state mortgages on the same. In 1907 the Legislature passed an act providing for the appointment by the State Superintendent of nine of the eighteen members of the various boards of trustees. The stockholders or contributors still made twice as many nominations as there were state trusteeships to be filled.

There was general agreement among the members of the Educational Commission appointed in 1907 to codify the school laws that the state normal schools should be owned by the state and such a provision was written into the proposed code. The State Teachers Association was in favor of state-owned normal schools. There were many people who agreed with Principal Bigler of Edinboro that the state ownership of the state normal schools would eliminate much of the petty rivalry, jealousy, and bickering that existed among the schools.

The State Superintendent of Public Instruction wrote in 1910:

> For several years it has been deemed wise to select the State Trustees from citizens who do not own stock, either directly or indirectly. But this policy has not been sufficient to eliminate local troubles from the management of these schools. Whenever two banks become rivals for the deposits of the money which these schools handle, the welfare of the schools may become a secondary matter. If a rich man's son is disciplined, he buys up stock and tries to get even with the Principal by a change in the Board of Trustees. There is at present a constant temptation to subordinate the highest interests of the schools to the business interests or professional advancement of some relative or friend of an influential Trustee or stockholder. The heroic days in which the Trustees made sacrifices and pledged their property, and even their very houses, in order to save the credit of the school and to keep it alive, are now past, and it is a question worthy of consideration whether the State should buy the stock . . . and should assume entire control.

Dr. Lyte believed that the progress of Millersville entitled it to consideration. In the last ten years a new model school building had been erected (1900) and the older buildings had been modernized by the general introduction of steam, electricity, and sanitary facilities. The school was highly solvent; it was honestly, conservatively, and economically managed and had rendered a notable service to the teaching profession since 1855. However, the time had come for a change.

Dr. Lyte assured his fellow principals that "Millersville will not stand in the way of any arrangement of that kind [state ownership] though the wisdom of this is not a settled fact."

The speech to the principals in 1910 indicated a peevishness and tactlessness that was perhaps a result of his chronic illness. He was no longer the leader that he was as President of the National Education Association in 1898-1899. He was a sick man who had lost a measure of his former optimism and diplomacy.

In 1911 the Legislature adopted the school code prepared by a special Educational Commission and included in the code was a provision for the purchase of the state normal schools. Millersville accepted the decision in good grace. Dr. Lyte knew that his days were numbered and symbolically wrote in his last report shortly before his death, "My sword is in its scabbard, hanging on the wall in my library, probably never to be unsheathed by me again."

The administration of Dr. Lyte witnessed great progress in the physical plant. The old boiler house, the old gymnasium, the Library, the Science Building, an extension to the Ladies' Building, a model school building, a household building, fifth floors on both the boys' and girls' dormitories, and the introduction of steam, electricity, and sanitary facilities into the buildings constituted the major physical improvements. In all of this expansion Dr. Lyte had a direct hand. Many of the improvements were first sketched by him. He had a high enthusiasm for expansion and was unusually familiar with many details, including the precise working of boilers, electrical equipment, sanitary facilities, and boiler house stacks. Many technical decisions were made on the recommendation of Dr. Lyte, sometimes in contradiction to the advice of experts.

The school expanded to the point where it was common to have over nine hundred students registered in one session. Dr. Lyte always deplored mere numbers, but always gloried in the size of the institution he headed. To keep the enrollment high he even pleaded for dull students in the columns of the *Normal Journal*. In fact practically all the principals regularly stressed numbers and seemed to measure prosperity in terms of numbers and income, as the law encouraged them to do, particularly after the full tuition act of 1901.

Not only was the plant vastly expanded and the enrollment increased but a number of innovations were introduced to keep Millersville abreast if not ahead of the times in curricular matters. In 1890 kindergarten instruction was introduced into the model school for the first time in any Pennsylvania state normal school. Susan Blow had widely publicized the merits of the first public school kindergarten at St. Louis and Dr. Lyte was impressed. Millersville was one of the first state normal schools to introduce manual training. He was continually alert to the improvement of instruction in the model school, believing

with Albert Maltby, Principal of Slippery Rock, that the model school lay at the heart of normal school instruction. Dr. Maltby asserted that it was his "belief that Millersville came nearer to the truth than any other in the state in this respect."

Dr. Lyte welcomed opportunities to improve scholarship and quickly introduced the new three-year course adopted in 1899 with improvements beyond the minimum required by the Board of Normal School Principals. The new four-year course in 1910 was in large part written by Dr. Lyte who served as the spokesman of the committee when it was first introduced in 1909. Dr. Lyte was proud of the fact that Millersville offered work "in advance of the course laid out for Normal Schools of the commonwealth, both academically and professionally."

Dr. Lyte assumed a cooperative attitude toward the newly-developing high schools and wished to refrain from competition with them by having the normal schools limit themselves to teacher training and by raising standards to such a point that normal school graduates would be equipped to teach in them. In these matters he did not have the full support of Dr. Schaeffer, who appeared to be a very "safe" Superintendent of Public Instruction. There is evidence in Dr. Schaeffer's reports to warrant the assertion that in many cases he tested the wind before he set his sails. His stand on compulsory attendance, industrial arts, and the place of the state normal school, would serve as examples. Neither the public schools nor the normal schools had the benefit of aggressive leadership on the part of the Superintendent of Public Instruction. (It was not until the appointment in 1919 of Thomas A. Finegan as State Superintendent that the State Department of Public Instruction assumed a role of aggressive leadership.) As a result, the coordination of the work of the high schools and state normal schools was, by Dr. Schaeffer's own admission, not solved to the satisfaction of either side.

It seems evident that Dr. Lyte, with few exceptions, was reasonably progressive in his attitude toward change. That Dr. Lyte was an able diplomat and a person who had the ability to get people of various personalities to work together becomes evident from a careful study of the school records. The faculty was made up of a solid nucleus of teachers of long tenure whose opinions were not easily ignored. Some of these teachers were strong-minded personalities. One such was Anne Lyle, for years a preceptress and teacher of history, to whom Dr. Brooks offered an apology in open faculty meeting. Dr. George Hull was nationally known for his series of mathematics textbooks. Dr. H. Justin Roddy was equally well known and respected as the author of a series of geography textbooks. Some of the teachers had been his instructors and it required tact and a basic force of character to remain in charge and retain the active cooperation and respect of the faculty.

Working with the Board of Trustees was no less of a challenge. The majority of members of the Board of Trustees were distinguished men in their own professions. A number of the Trustees had served since the founding of the school. John H. Landis was director of the mint at Philadelphia; David McMullen was a judge; Sam Matt Friday served as U. S. Collector of Internal Revenue; Amos H. Mylin was a state senator; John B. Warfel edited the *Lancaster New Era* for many years; George K. Reed was head of the banking firm of Reed and McGrann; Andrew M. Frantz was a well-known Lancaster attorney; Dr. P. W. Hiestand was the local dentist and industrialist of many interests; Jacob M. Frantz and Jonas B. Martin were both members of the first Board of Trustees in 1855. A complete list of all Trustees of long tenure who served during the administration of E. O. Lyte is given below:

Trustees and length of Service:

Jacob M. Frantz	1856-1908	Charles A. Heinitsh	1877-1898
Jonas B. Martin	1856-1857	H. M. Mayer	1860-1915
	1877-1920	Dr. O. T. Huebner	1882-1909
Dr. P. W. Hiestand	1857-1916	John S. Mann	1882-1902
Andrew M. Frantz	1861-1911	Amos H. Mylin	1883-1916
Charles Denues	1865-1866	Sam Matt Friday	1884-1889
	1876-1900		1895-1908
George K. Reed	1866-1897	A. F. Hostetter	1890-1911
John B. Warfel	1872-1907	David McMullen	1893-1916
Hon. John B. Livingston	1873-1903	John H. Landis	1896-1920

Dr. Lyte often referred to the stability of the Board of Trustees as a factor in the success of the school. Thirty-nine men served on the Board of Trustees during the twenty-five year principalship of Dr. Lyte. The average length of tenure was 18.9 years. Of the thirty-nine men who filled the eighteen positions for the twenty-five years, the following nine served more than thirty years: Jacob M. Frantz, fifty-three years; Jonas B. Martin, forty-five years; P. W. Hiestand, sixty years; Andrew M. Frantz, fifty years; George K. Reed, thirty-two years; John B. Warfel, thirty-six years; Honorable John B. Livingston, thirty-one years; H. M. Mayer, thirty-seven years; and Senator Amos H. Mylin, thirty-four years. These men had excellent attendance records with the exception of the Honorable J. B. Livingston and Senator Amos H. Mylin. In spite of his poor attendance, the latter, however, was singled out by the Board of Trustees for heroic services "in the securing of a $50,000 special appropriation from the state in 1891." Andrew M. Frantz, the Secretary of the Board of Trustees, missed only one meeting of the Board of Trustees in his entire fifty years of service. His record of attendance on the scores of meetings of the Executive Committee, of which he was chairman, was also practically perfect. Aside from his law practice and his family, the Normal School was his major interest in life.

Only twenty-one changes on the Board occurred in twenty-five years, and during nine election years no changes at all took place. Only one secretary served the Trustees during the principalship of Dr. Lyte and that man was Andrew M. Frantz, who served until his death in his eighty-fifth year. The "venerable" Abraham Peters had served as president from the beginning until 1881; George K. Reed from 1881 to 1897; John B. Warfel, 1897-1907; and Judge David McMullen, 1907-1916. Christian Eiseman served as Steward from 1885 to 1905. Even the head janitor, Harry C. Metzgar, served the institution for fifty-one years. Such records of long service are quite unusual.

Another factor that should be noted is the generally congenial atmosphere in which all of these men, some of them very old, worked. There were differences of opinion, to be sure, and individuals and committees were sometimes called to terms or were indirectly reprimanded or disciplined. Split votes on critical issues rarely occurred. The long tenure of office, a cautious approach to all problems, and a common desire to remain basically solvent at all times perhaps explains why it was possible for six standing committees and the Executive Committee to operate without a formal budget. They managed quite well on a yearly basis, but from month to month it was frequently necessary to end up the monthly treasurer's report with a statement such as, "balance due treasurer $2,450.84." This unusual practice of owing money to the treasurer was unnecessary in view of the fact that both the long and short term credit of the institution was always good. It was discontinued when Mr. Harry C. Symons became Treasurer in 1912.

Many of the Trustees paid very close attention to the minute details of operation. The committees were familiar with practically all phases of the business of the school and also with the educational activities. This close application to the details of business administration by the Trustees obviated the necessity of hiring a business manager until 1905, when Professor J. W. Lansinger was appointed to that office. Even when a business manager was appointed, the Trustees continued their habit of attending to many details themselves. For instance, instead of instructing the business manager to buy a team of horses, a committee of the Board of Trustees journeyed to Quarryville to inspect a team of horses offered for sale. Many of the Trustees had a personal interest in the institution, to which they gave freely of their time and energy, but seldom of their money without interest. Gifts and bequests by members of the Board were rare and contrasted rather sharply with the liberality of wealthy persons on the boards of trustees of liberal arts colleges.

Various plans for visiting classes and the school generally were employed from time to time. One plan that apparently worked well for a long time was to combine two standing committees for the regular monthly visit. Thus every member of the board was assigned to visit

every three months, there being six standing committees. For instance, on October 16, 1890 five members of the committee of six visited eleven classes in the forenoon and thirteen in the afternoon. Secretary Andrew M. Frantz, Editor John B. Warfel and the other committee members reported that the new teachers were doing as well or better than the old. The committee members did not hesitate to regard themselves as competent to judge the teaching techniques and abilities of individual professors.

In 1880 the by-laws provided that "It shall be the duty of the Committee on Instruction and Discipline to select, from nominations made by the principal and subject to the approval of the Board, all Professors and Teachers of the Institution except the Principal." By 1905 these clear-cut instructions were changed to give the Committee more authority in the selecting of teachers. Now and then Trustees exceeded even the wide bounds of legitimate activity already described. Andrew M. Frantz, the Secretary to the Board and the chairman of the Executive Committee in the 1890's, felt obliged to investigate the conduct of the faculty members in the dining room and with that in view instructed the housekeeper to observe the conduct of the faculty and report to him. The housekeeper's equilibrium was upset with so much potential power and as a result she became arbitrary. When faculty members ventured to talk back to her, she could not resist telling them that she had authority from a Board member to report them. The matter was reported to Dr. Lyte who was highly displeased, but even he did not see fit to abruptly correct the matter. Andrew M. Frantz wielded much power on the Board and his wishes were not lightly regarded even by men of the caliber of Senator Stehman, a fellow Trustee. Several members of the Board of Trustees even thought that the discipline of the school should be their concern. But H. M. Mayer and Dr. Huebner made a thorough investigation and advised against it, after seeing and hearing Dr. Lyte and the faculty in action.

Dr. Lyte appeared to be able to guide and mold in an unobtrusive manner many of the exasperating forces and influences. Even a strong personality like Andrew M. Frantz could be gradually bent to what Dr. Lyte considered the needs of the school. In his younger days, Dr. Lyte was a patient, diplomatic, and persuasive man who no doubt was the most important factor in leading the diverse elements in a common direction.

Dr. Lyte had spoken very favorably of the business operations under Professor J. W. Lansinger as business manager. Professor Lansinger had been the recipient of many favorable considerations at the hands of Professor Lyte and the Normal School. He had been favored in the matter of salary and gradually much confidence was reposed in him. In fact, when Professor Lyte's illness (arterio sclerosis and other complications) made it impossible for him to cope with the

many duties of his office, J. W. Lansinger was appointed as the acting principal at a salary of $3,000. During the period of Dr. Lyte's illness, J. W. Lansinger proceeded to embezzle money to the extent of over $6,000. Most of that amount was recovered from the bonding company after strenuous efforts and plans for a suit at law. An indication of the economic stability of the institution is evident in the fact that two weeks after the last audit, the school borrowed more money for current running expenses.

It was said in Lansinger's favor that he did not use one dollar for his own benefit, and that he employed the money in an attempt to save a questionable business venture of an extravagant son whose previous conduct had been such as not to inspire much confidence. Dr. Lyte, who had displayed a deep faith in his Business Manager, was faced with the disagreeable task of paying a $6,000 note that he had endorsed for Lansinger. Dr. Lyte paid most of the money. The remaining $2,000 was finally collected from the estate of Dr. Lyte by order of the Berks County Court. Lansinger later served a jail sentence for deception in securing money on a renewal note.

The authorities at Millersville at one time had decided to press criminal charges, but dropped the matter, hoping thus to avoid adverse newspaper publicity. For his embezzlement, Lansinger suffered no punishment except presumably the pangs of conscience. The Normal School, however, was subjected to additional adverse publicity as a result of D. H. Rapp's decision to sue the Normal School in a civil action. Other schools had troubles too, and some of these served to divert attention from Millersville.

The Board of Trustees of West Chester State Normal School voted nine to seven to ask Principal George M. Phillips to resign on the grounds that he had done nothing about the reports on the conduct of his steward, who finally deserted his family and took flight with one of the lady students.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF PRINCIPAL P. M. HARBOLD

1912-1918

When it became certain that Dr. Lyte would not be able because of failing health to resume his position, the Committee on Instruction and Discipline suggested the selection of a new principal. A committee was appointed to nominate a new principal at the special meeting of June 11, 1912. They had no candidate by that date, but four days later nominated P. Monroe Harbold, a graduate of the Millersville State Normal School in the class of 1898, a graduate of Franklin and Marshall College and Harvard University, a former superintendent of the Millersville Model School, and at the time, Superintendent of the Lancaster City Public Schools. His salary was $3,500 and a home. Mr. Harbold was a scholarly man, a good administrator, and a teacher of

high order. He differed from his predecessors in being less aggressive and also was not as active in the institutes, and in county, state, and national associations.

Harry C. Symons of Reading, Pennsylvania, was elected as treasurer and also as business manager, to succeed J. W. Lansinger at a salary of $1,200 and three rooms and board for himself and family. Mr. Symons had graduated from the Millersville State Normal School in 1900 and was a Phi Beta Kappa graduate of Franklin and Marshall College. He had been principal of the Christiana Public Schools and had taught at Millersville State Normal School. He has served the school faithfully to the end of June, 1952, and was regularly mentioned by the public auditors (who were employed after Lansinger's default) for his neat, orderly, and accurate work. He is universally recognized as a devoted and reliable official with a strong bent toward economy.

When Dr. Harbold took charge of the Normal School he wanted to be certain that some of the errors of the past would be corrected and therefore recommended to the Board that:

> Whenever the Board through its Committees appointed an executive head, such as the Superintendent of Grounds and Buildings or the Steward, if efficient service is to be desired or expected, such executive head must have considerable authority and responsibility placed right in his hands and then fully supported and that the executive head should in every respect be responsible to his committee but that he should not be limited too far in the exercise of his duties.

Members of the Board of Trustees for more than fifty years had been in the habit of concerning themselves directly with too many minute details of the operation of the school. Mr. Harbold, being a capable administrator, tried to steer the Board into its proper channel, which was to allow him to act as the executive officer of a policy making Board of Trustees. However, old habits were hard to break. An elementary type of budget was introduced for the first time. Professor Harbold demonstrated his organizational ability on the opening day of school in the fall of 1912. A smoothly operating organization of faculty committees went into action to determine high school credits, to hold special examinations for classifications, to classify old and new students, to assign schedules, to assign rooms, and to advise in religious and other matters. During the year faculty committees were appointed for almost all the projects with which a faculty might concern itself.

The administration and faculty remained essentially conservative and there were only a few indications that the old order in conduct and discipline was beginning to yield. The faculty and Principal were still seriously concerned with preventing the "turkey trot," card playing, and the "association of the sexes."

Principal Harbold presided over the destinies of Millersville dur-

ing a conservative period in the administration of state educational affairs. State Superintendent Nathan C. Schaeffer became more conservative with age and the state did not maintain its relative position as the Ayres report showed a few years later. However, Mr. Harbold exerted himself to establish good relations with the growing high schools, to continue the favorable relationship existing between the school directors and the Normal School, and to reestablish the prestige of the school. A declining enrollment did not deter Mr. Harbold from his insistence on reasonable scholarship. Some of the colleges were happy to offer scholarships to Millersville graduates. There had always been an emphasis on college preparatory work and at one time Millersville had more students in college than any other Pennsylvania state normal school.

Perhaps the most important event of Dr. Harbold's administration was the actual transfer of the Millersville State Normal School to the state in 1917. The sale of the Normal School to the state was accepted by Millersville as inevitable after the death of E. O. Lyte, the holder of the majority of stock, in January of 1913. By December 4, 1915, the movement had progressed to the point where a committee of three-Judge Charles I. Landis, Honorable A. W. Snader, and Attorney H. Edgar Sherts, Secretary to the Board of Trustees, was appointed to "take whatever steps are necessary preparatory to entering into negotiations with the State Board of Education for the sale of the School." Two months later the committee reported that it had secured practically all the signatures of the holders of contributors' stock agreeing to the sale of the Millersville State Normal School to the state. On the last day of May, 1916, Judge Charles I. Landis, Mr. Harry C. Symons, and the Honorable A. W. Snader appeared before the State Board of Education and were given an official offer of $4,725 for the outstanding 189 shares of contributors' stock and the assumption of all debts. This was ratified by a convention of the contributors' shareholders, with no votes cast in the negative.

By March 15, 1917 all the deeds and conveyance documents had been signed and the Millersville State Normal School ceased to exist as a private normal school. The State Board of Education appointed the new Millersville Board of Trustees as follows: Judge Charles I. Landis, Honorable John H. Landis, Honorable Michael Hoffman, Jonas B. Martin, Professor Daniel Fleisher, Honorable Aaron W. Snader, Professor John W. Snoke, C. Elmer Smith, and H. Edgar Sherts. Judge Landis was elected President of the new Board of Trustees and H. Edgar Sherts was elected Secretary.

An interesting fact is that Millersville could easily have acquired more buildings before 1917, the debts for which would have been assumed by the state. Neither Dr. Harbold nor Mr. Symons was tempted by the opportunity. Judge Landis was completely opposed to such actions, although there were precedents.

The only immediate change that was noticeable was the reduction of the Trustees in number from eighteen to nine, and a reduction of the standing committees from six to three. For a time the change in the committee arrangements was hardly noticeable except in a doubling up of the work. Committee reports continued to be made under the old headings since there was no change in the bookkeeping system. The new budget appeared in exactly the same form as before state ownership, and the financial procedure was precisely the same and continued the same for a number of years.

Dr. Harbold was a competent administrator with a considerable degree of courage. He was inclined to prefer peace and quiet, but did not hesitate to take a strong stand when he was firmly convinced of the fundamental correctness of his point of view. He had not been able to educate the Board to its proper place in all respects, although he had made progress. The Household Committee still concerned itself directly with such trivial matters as buying a body and wheel for the wheelbarrow in the boiler house. The Trustees still regarded themselves as authorities in matters of classroom procedure and teaching, regularly visited and inspected classrooms and teaching, and made reports to the whole Board of Trustees. A committee of October 30, 1916 found two main points to be criticized. Students were not asked to rise when reciting and teachers talked too much. Dr. Harbold made no mention of these matters, but he did take a stand on the matter of appointing teachers. He insisted that it was his duty as principal to nominate teachers and the duty of the Committee on Instruction and Discipline to make the appointments from the nominees presented. This was in conformity to the accepted practice under Edward Brooks.

In making his nominations in 1918 to the Committee of Instruction and Discipline, Dr. Harbold omitted the name of Louis McJ. Lyte, son of the late Principal. The committee presented a list of teachers to the Board of Trustees and omitted the name of Mr. Lyte in agreement with the Principal's nominations. No action was taken and the report was referred back to the committee which did not wish to become involved in the matter. At the next meeting Michael Hoffman moved, and John G. Homsher seconded the motion, that Louis McJ. Lyte be employed at an advance of salary from $700 to $900 per annum. After considerable discussion, action was again postponed. Dr. Harbold stood his ground against the employment of Mr. Lyte. The atmosphere was tense and a postponement was again taken at the regular July meeting. At a special meeting on July 12, 1918, in the absence of Dr. Harbold, the Board again discussed the matter at length, the President of the Trustees insisting that the opinion of Dr. Harbold (that a teacher could not be appointed without being placed in nomination by the principal) would result in a usurpation of the power of the Board. Dr. Harbold joined the special meeting for a

further discussion, after which he presented his resignation, having previously told the Board that he would resign unless his opinion prevailed in this case. Dr. Harbold presumably requested the special meeting and appears to have made up his mind to resign before the meeting occurred. On August third, Mr. Lyte was elected a teacher with a $200 increase in salary when increases were not given to other teachers in the same proportion.

Louis McJ. Lyte had been regarded by Dr. Harbold and by members of the faculty as an unsatisfactory teacher. In fact, the Honorable John H. Landis had moved to strike his name off the list in 1912 while his father, Dr. E. O. Lyte, was still alive. It was widely believed that the close relationship between Louis Lyte's family and the Hoffman family was responsible for Mr. Hoffman's strong support.

A PERIOD OF TRANSITION
1918-1929

When Dr. Harbold resigned as a result of a difference of opinion with the Board of Trustees on administrative procedure, he was succeeded by Dr. Charles H. Gordinier, who had served as a professor of Latin and Greek since 1911, when he succeeded the "venerable" Dr. Andrew H. Byerly. He had established himself as an institute and general lecturer in the tradition of Wickersham, Brooks, and Lyte, and the opinion has been unofficially expressed that his ability to keep the school before the eyes of the teachers was a factor in his selection as Principal. It was still a period of competition for students, and a principal with platform appeal would be an asset to any state normal school. Dr. Gordinier was regarded as a competent Professor, but his ready acceptance of the principalship that Dr. Harbold was forced to vacate on a matter of principle did not endear him to a number of the Millersville faculty. His action in not requesting an extension for a super-annuated teacher in the model school and his dismissal of one of the music teachers were viewed critically by others. He did not lack courage in calling the attention of the Board to what he considered questionable statements made by Professor Gaige about the matter of acquiring an advanced degree. Professor Gaige had friends on the faculty and the Board of Trustees who believed that he could do no wrong but there were others who professed to have information that did not comport with the Professor's serene exterior.

Dr. Gordinier occupied the principalship during a period of transition (1918-1929) in the educational history of Pennsylvania. No radical change could occur in a state normal school without a proper state atmosphere in which to operate. After the first World War the state of Pennsylvania was in a condition of flux. Changes were occurring rapidly although not all the changes were moving in a suitable direction. In educational matters the people generally were ready for a change although the nature of the change that was desired

was not always readily discernible. Sometimes it amounted to a vague dissatisfaction with the status quo ante bellum and an undefined restlessness. Into this state of affairs stepped an aggressive governor who believed that Pennsylvania was ripe for major changes in the public educational system.

Governor William C. Sproul had the courage to select an out-of-state educator who measured up to his expectations of a Superintendent of Public Instruction. Dr. Schaeffer, who died in March, 1919, after a tenure of almost twenty-six years as State Superintendent, had been well educated, culturally and theologically; he was a most congenial man, whom few people disliked. About the most that appeared to have been said against him in print was that he showed signs of conservatism. Dr. Thomas E. Finegan had a record of achievement in the New York State Department of Education and he lost no time in identifying the main problems and erecting machinery to attack those problems in Pennsylvania.

State controls came gradually after 1917 when Millersville became a state-owned institution. For a time there was no change at all in the basic financial and administrative operation of the schools taken over by the state. It appears that the first changes under state control were affected without any well-defined overall plan. The temporary financial disturbances of the inflationary period of 1919-1920 were handled as before by temporary loans from the local banks and increased state appropriations. To balance the budget, Principal Gordinier was interested in one of the old practices of the Pennsylvania normal schools and recommended to the Board that an appropriation of $600 be made to set up a system of canvassing for students. The situation had become somewhat alarming in the fall of 1918 when the enrollment dropped to 178 ladies and 31 gentlemen. After the armistice, the situation improved a little but not enough to abandon the idea of sending out what Principal Lyte contemptuously referred to as "drummers." The Student Army Training Corps at Millersville was small and did not fully compensate for the loss of regular students. "Drummers" were not actually sent out, but Dr. Gordinier did visit the high schools in the district with a view to gaining more students.

A major step in the direction of complete state control was the payment of the bonded indebtedness of Millersville by a representative of the State Board of Education in 1920. Another indication of a new state management was the appointment of the first lady, Mrs. Elizabeth Nauman, to the Millersville Board of Trustees. A modern budget was drawn up for the school year 1921-1922 that conformed in its major aspects with modern budget procedure. Instead of assigning a general percentage of the income to a particular committee as had been done since 1913, the new budget provided for general control, instruction, auxiliary agencies and activities, operation and maintenance of plant,

and capital outlay with appropriate subdivisions. For September, 1921, teachers were, for the first time, paid directly out of the state treasury. From this point on state controls were rapidly and systematically applied to the state normal schools. More and more relatively small matters of maintenance and repair required departmental approval. Sometimes friction developed as a result of the greatly increased state supervision. Under Thomas E. Finegan, state controls were accelerated and systematized and under his successors were consolidated into accepted practice.

By the end of Dr. Charles H. Gordinier's principalship, the state normal schools had been completely brought under state control in all major aspects. All budgets prepared by the state teachers college officials were transmitted to the Department of Public Instruction. The detailed financial information and the proposed budget in prescribed form were to be submitted by the Department of Public Instruction to the Budget Secretary not later than November first of even numbered years. "The Governor may, after giving to each department, board . . . an opportunity to be heard, approve, disapprove, or alter the estimates." In other words, the budget of the state teachers colleges was completely at the mercy of the State Department of Public Instruction and the Governor. The days when the state made appropriations to the state normal schools to be deposited in local banks and to be spent by the local boards of trustees without more supervision than that implied in an examination by a state auditor were now past.

In the procedure outlined in the Fiscal Code, all local revenues lost their identity when they were turned in to the state. A new budget was drawn up without reference to the local income from fees as a source of revenue. The amount appropriated was not directly dependent, for the period of the budget, on local income, but was a specific sum appropriated from the general state funds.

The Department of Property and Supplies was set up by law as the purchasing agent to purchase materials or supplies for departmental administrative boards, such as the boards of trustees, except in the case of perishable food stuffs and fuel. Limited purchases could be made under other specific conditions. The erection, repair or alteration of state teachers college buildings at a cost of more than $10,000 was completely in the hands of the Department of Property and Supplies. All repairs to existing buildings were subject to the inspection and general supervision of the Department of Property and Supplies in addition to the Department of Public Instruction. The Executive Board of the Commonwealth had the power "to standardize the qualifications for employment, and all titles, salaries, and wages of persons employed by the Administrative Departments, boards and commissions." Trustees after 1929 were appointed by the Governor with the advice and consent of two-thirds of the Senate, for a term of four years.

It must not be assumed that these strict administrative and budgetary state controls were established at one time. They were developed over a period of several years. A considerable measure of state control had been achieved before Governor Sproul and Superintendent Finegan left office. In this remarkable transition, Dr. Gordinier simply moved with the tide of controls as they were established and adjusted himself as well as he could to the rapidly changing scene. The day of the independent management of normal schools was past and no principal could have acted in any other capacity except that of the executive officer of a departmental administrative board.

Not only did Dr. Gordinier see the Millersville State Normal School through the administrative and financial transition from a largely private, but state-subsidized, normal school to a state normal school in every sense of the word, but he also guided the school through the change from a largely secondary school in 1919[1] to a collegiate institution in 1927. After 1910 Millersville officially had a program of studies covering four years after the completion of the common branches of the first eight grades. Graduates of four-year high schools were to be admitted to the third year of this normal course and graduates of three-year high schools to the second normal year. Even though it was generally agreed among the principals that higher admission requirements were desirable for the normal course, it was difficult to secure agreement in practice to the limiting of the enrollment when increased numbers of students meant increased state aid on the basis of the weekly payments of $1.50 made since 1901 and $2 per week since 1919. In this contradictory struggle, Millersville was able to secure the largest percentage of high school graduates of any Pennsylvania state normal school in 1910 while still maintaining a fairly large enrollment. During Dr. Harbold's principalship the en-

[1] The normal schools were in the nineteenth century largely secondary in the sense that graduates of the common schools were admitted directly to the normal school courses. However, the completion of the scientific and the classical courses carried the students beyond the point reached by graduates of three and four-year high schools, particularly in mathematics and the ancient languages. It should be kept in mind that there were only three classical graduates and one hundred sixty-one scientific graduates in all the state normal schools and of those one hundred sixty-four students, Millersville graduated three and ninety students respectively. (*Annual Report,* 1906, pp. 538-543). Some of the liberal arts colleges (Lebanon Valley and Franklin and Marshall Colleges) admitted graduates of the advanced courses to the sophomore year in collegiate work and thus recognized some of the work at Millersville as unofficially equivalent to collegiate work. The records indicate that graduates of the new four-year course (adopted by all the normal schools in 1910) did not ordinarily receive advanced credit in liberal arts colleges. Advanced courses (of college level) in mathematics and other fields were sometimes taught when requested by a sufficient number of students.

The two years of work required in 1910 of four-year high school graduates was largely professional in character. There appears to be no claim by the principals in the minutes of the Board of Normal School Principals that this work was of a collegiate level, although the maturity of some of the students undoubtedly permitted work of a more advanced type than would ordinarily be pursued in a high school.

rollment dropped, but efforts were made to maintain a satisfactory degree of scholarship and to attract a substantial number of high school graduates.

The problem of raising admission requirements was largely solved for the normal schools by the action of the new Superintendent of Public Instruction who took office in 1919. Dr. Finegan diagnosed the troubles of Pennsylvania as being in large part a low standard set for beginning teachers. A second state educational convention in the fall of 1920, attended by many of the leading educators of the state, listened to Dr. Ayres explain why Pennsylvania stood twenty-first among the states in the general efficiency of its public schools. Governor Sproul spoke to the convention in an optimistic fashion and emphasized that "the people of Pennsylvania must look upon what they pay for education as an investment and not as an expenditure."

By the time the Legislature met in January of 1921, the State Department of Public Instruction had been reorganized, the state had been prepared for change, and a definite program of school legislation had been prepared by Dr. Finegan and the leading educators of the state. Many of these recommendations were incorporated in separate bills, which in turn were grouped into an omnibus bill known as the Edmonds Act. The Act was regarded by Dean M. J. Walsh of the Indiana State Normal School as "probably the most important piece of public school legislation ever passed by any legislative body in America in one session."

Minimum salaries were substantially increased, minimum qualifications for beginning teachers were raised to two years of post high school professional study after September 1, 1927, certification of teachers was transferred from the counties to the state, the minimum school term was increased to eight months, compulsory attendance laws were improved, state aid to the schools was increased from twenty-four to thirty-six million dollars, appropriations to the normal schools were increased by a million and a half dollars, a State Council of Education was established, and other improvements made. The Edmonds Act of 1921 provided the conditions under which the normal schools could progress.

As was stated before, normal schools cannot progress very far beyond the general level of efficiency of the state public school system. Even before the Finegan program had been enacted into law, the Board of Normal School Principals and the Superintendent of Public Instruction had set the entrance requirements at graduation from a first class (four-year) high school with fifteen carnegie units of credit. However, the normal schools were permitted to conduct secondary departments for those students who did not have first class high school facilities available in their home communities. The secondary department was discontinued at Millersville in 1925. The requirement of graduation from high school for entrance to normal schools had

been accepted as an established necessity by the Normal School Association of the N. E. A. by 1912. A set of four professional curricula of two years each on the collegiate level was formulated by the principals and accepted by Dr. Finegan. These four courses provided for specialization in the fields of kindergarten and primary grades, intermediate grades, grammar and junior high school, and rural.

Curriculum revision engaged the attention of Dr. Gordinier and the other normal school principals throughout the transition period. In 1926 the Curricular Revision Committee presented a report providing for four-year curricula in the normal schools for the elementary and secondary fields. By this time, the State Council of Education had already prepared itself for the examination of the state normal schools with the idea of their conversion to degree-granting collegiate institutions. On June 5, 1926 authority was granted by the State Council of Education to several of the normal schools to confer collegiate degrees. This was in contrast to the conferring of the Bachelor of the Elements, Bachelor of Pedagogies and other secondary degrees that had been granted by Pennsylvania State Normal Schools for more than half a century. Millersville was not in this first group. In fact it appeared that Millersville did not make application for collegiate standing until July 10, 1926. The first application for authority to confer the bachelor of science degree in education and special degrees in music, art, health education, and domestic science had been found unsatisfactory by the State Council of Education. It appears that there were too many specialties listed for which the proper facilities did not exist. This was probably an attempt to continue the old practice of building up the enrollment. James N. Rule, Henry Klonower and Charles E. Dickey examined Millersville's plant and facilities with a view to making recommendations to the State Council of Education, which granted authority to Millersville in the spring of 1927 to grant bachelor of science degrees in the elementary and the junior high school fields. At about the same time all normal schools that had attained degree-granting status were officially declared to be State Teachers Colleges.

Millersville promptly bestirred itself to build up its faculty by means of the employment of teachers holding earned doctors' degrees. The Committee on Instruction and Discipline had recommended, and the Board had approved the recommendation, that only teachers with doctors' degrees be employed.

Dr. Paul Chandler, now President of the Clarion State Teachers College, was employed as head of the Department of Education and Director of Extension at a salary of $4,500. It was believed by several members of the faculty that he was employed as a potential successor to Dr. Gordinier. It is true that he had ambitions in that direction. Two other doctors were elected to the faculty but one declined to serve and the other was more than fifty years of age and could not

accept the position by virtue of a ruling of the Executive Board of the state. Sanders P. McComsey, A. M., an outstanding member of the class of 1917, was employed to teach English at a salary of $3,600 without a doctor's degree. Dean Dutcher had completed his residence requirements for a doctor of philosophy degree and was elected to teach social science at a doctor's salary of $4,050. Dr. A. W. Dupler was also employed at a salary of $4,050. Most of the doctors' degrees held by Millersville faculty members before this time were honorary doctor of philosophy degrees conferred by local colleges. One Ph. D. degree was conferred by Wooster University, a small liberal arts college with a graduate correspondence department that was a farce, and several degrees were granted by Kansas City University, which was clearly not a school equipped for graduate study.

Strong efforts were made to build up the scholarship of the faculty. Properly qualified teachers with masters degrees and doctors degrees were employed, old teachers were retired, and those in service without adequate qualifications were encouraged by Dr. Gordinier and the salary schedule to improve their status as quickly as possible. It was no small task to convert a largely secondary school faculty into a college faculty in a period of a few years.

Thus far we have briefly described the major aspects of the organizational and financial change from a semi-private to a strictly state-controlled institution. The transition from a largely secondary school to a state teachers college under the principalship of Charles H. Gordinier has also been described. No more than a mention at this point can be made of another phase of the transition. The nineteenth century spirit of the normal school with its rigid attitude toward morals, with its strict supervision of student conduct, and with its strongly religious atmosphere were noticeably breaking down during the principalship of Dr. Gordinier. Of course, it should be kept in mind that the post-war period was one of change and one which saw the abandonment of many old standards and guides. The change was perhaps more than merely symbolized by the retirement of three outstanding personalities of the nineteenth century—Anne Lyle in 1917, George Hull in 1921, and Jonas B. Martin, a member of the original Board of Trustees, in 1921.

The literary societies which had rendered an outstanding service in the past were no longer as virile as they were in the nineteenth century. They began to lose ground and today are still in existence largely because of the reluctance of those who know their history and their service to let them die.

Dr. Charles H. Gordinier submitted his resignation as principal when he reached retirement age in 1929 directly after the local Board of Trustees had reelected him to the principalship for another year, but its action was not confirmed by Dr. John A. H. Keith, the Superintendent of Public Instruction, who did not appear to be very friendly

toward Dr. Gordinier. Dr. Gordinier had served during one of the most active periods in the educational history of Pennsylvania.

A PERIOD OF CRISIS FOR THE STATE TEACHERS COLLEGES 1929-1935

Dr. Landis Tanger succeeded Dr. Gordinier in the presidency of the Millersville State Teachers College in 1929 and served until 1943. The administration of the State Teachers Colleges during this period is described in detail by Dr. Harvey Andruss, President of the Bloomsburg State Teachers College. The struggle to retain all of the thirteen state teachers colleges and to prevent a serious impairment of their legitimate function during the depression period is not fully treated by Dr. Andruss. Considerable space is, therefore, given here to an informative but neglected phase of the history of the Pennsylvania state teachers colleges.

Shortly after the state normal schools were converted into state teachers colleges and before their positions as state teachers colleges could be firmly established and generally justified with the taxpayers of the state, the country in 1929 was plunged into an economic depression. During the first two years of the depression, constituting the biennium of 1929-1931, nothing of an alarming nature arose to unduly disturb the state teachers college authorities. The closing of banks, the failing of businesses, and the widespread unemployment injected a little uneasiness into the picture that President Hoover's well-meaning advisers could not completely dispel with their hopeful promises.

To be on the safe side the Board of Presidents in October of 1930, appointed a Legislative Committee of three members headed by Dr. Haas, President of Bloomsburg State Teachers College. This committee, however, seemed to be primarily interested in the advisability of increasing the local authority of the state teachers colleges and in moving away from the rigid controls over all financial aspects of the colleges imposed by the Administrative Code of 1929.

The Association of Trustees of Pennsylvania State Teachers Colleges had previously appointed a Legislative Committee with the Honorable H. Edgar Sherts, the Secretary of the Millersville Board of Trustees, as a chairman. This committee was also more concerned with "changes in the present plan of centralized purchasing for State Teachers Colleges" than with matters of state support of the teacher training institutions. Even when the Legislature was in session early in 1931, the committees remained relatively inactive even though Mr. Sherts was eager for encouragement to do something. Dr. James N. Rule, the acting Superintendent of Public Instruction, proceeded in a cautious manner and suggested in February of 1931 "that it was unnecessary to call the committee together at the present time as there appeared to be nothing pending which would require the aid of the Trustees Committee." The President of the Association of Trustees

was likewise cautious and suggested to Mr. Sherts, the chairman of the Legislative Committee, that a policy of "watch and wait" be pursued. The official committees followed closely the advice of Dr. Rule and did very little in the face of the cuts that were proposed in the budget.

However, Millersville approved of a factual statement made to the members of the Legislature showing the disadvantageous position of the state teachers colleges as compared to the state-aided institutions. This "Analysis of the Budget" presented to the Legislature in February of 1931 showed quite clearly that the budget submitted to the Legislature by Governor Pinchot's office provided roughly for a reduction of the item of new building construction from two million to one million dollars. Maintenance and operation were to be cut $228,000.

On the other hand, the Pinchot budget provided for increases of $140,000 to the University of Pittsburgh, $150,000 to the University of Pennsylvania, $60,000 to Temple University, and $650,000 to Pennsylvania State College. In other words, the state teachers colleges in a formative period of their existence were subjected to a sharp reduction of appropriations, while old and firmly established institutions were given increases in appropriations. To the friends of the new teachers colleges such action was incomprehensible. Other people, however, believed with the *Public Ledger* that the Pennsylvania State Teachers Colleges were a product of the inflation of the 1920's when they acquired their "fancy names" while expanding in the "grand manner." Many taxpayers and some superintendents believed that two years of normal school work was quite sufficient for the preparation of elementary school teachers and were quite willing to agree with many of the liberal arts colleges that the preparation of the secondary school teachers of first-class high schools should be left to the colleges. These people were numerous and were not alarmed by what they considered a relatively small reduction in a period of economic crisis.

During the legislative session of 1931, Millersville registered a vigorous protest to the proposed cuts in the budget, explaining that the College had a recently (1930) imposed task of preparing industrial arts teachers for thirty counties in the state and that the College had an important task in the preparation of elementary school teachers, the over-supply of which had been exaggerated by the opponents of state teachers colleges.

The net result of the action of the Legislature of 1931 as far as the appropriations to the state teachers colleges was concerned was a decrease from a net appropriation of $4,955,000 in the biennium of 1929-1931 to $4,440,000 for the biennium of 1931-1933.

The economic picture had not improved by 1932 and, since increasing amounts of money were necessary for relief and welfare purposes, the Pinchot Administration called the Legislature into extraordinary session in July for further reductions in the budgets and for

special appropriations for relief. In quick order $1,012,000 was subtracted from the biennium appropriations made to the State teachers colleges the preceding year. This further reduction of twenty-five per cent in the state appropriation already made in 1931, necessitated a drastic change in the budgets for the individual institutions in order to complete the biennium. Millersville was severely hit and President Landis Tanger, with the valuable aid of his Bursar, Mr. Harry Symons, a man with a natural instinct for economy, painstakingly rewrote the budget for the remaining nine months of the biennium. Other schools faced the same problems as Millersville. The total enrollments of the state teachers colleges were reduced by more than one thousand students, salaries were cut, and contingent fees charged to make up the deficits. The additional fees still further depressed the enrollment. At Millersville the freshman class numbered only 188 as compared with 252 for the previous year.

Directly after the special session of 1932, which resulted in the reduction of the appropriation to the state teachers colleges by more than a million dollars, the Association of Trustees held a meeting at Harrisburg on September 16, 1932, and appointed a new Legislative Committee "with the object in view of restoring to the State Teachers Colleges the money taken from them during the last special session of the legislature." William T. Harris, cashier of the First National Bank at Nanticoke, accepted the chairmanship on condition that the committee be made up only of "LIVE" members. The most active and most influential member of the Committee was H. Edgar Sherts, a Millersville Trustee and a member of the Lancaster County Bar.

The first object of the Committee, according to its chairman, was to secure the election to the Legislature of representatives and senators who would be favorable to the state teachers colleges, and to encourage various organizations and individuals to write letters, file petitions, make speeches, discuss, persuade and do anything legitimate that would induce the Legislature to stand by the state teachers colleges.

The trustees were late in getting started. Mr. Sherts discovered to his chagrin that a letter had been received at Millersville and elsewhere from the Department of Revenue giving "positive instructions" to cut the budgets, presumably in anticipation of legislative cuts. Dr. Tanger and Mr. Symons interpreted the instructions as meaning that the Millersville budget would have to be less, or certainly not more, than for the biennium of 1931-1933. The budgets were due on October first, and with a number of such reduced budgets already filed, the position of the Trustees' Legislative Committee was seriously damaged. The Trustees' Association and the Board of Presidents continued to work through the Superintendent of Public Instruction, the State Council of Education, and the Governor. Several conferences were held and the usual generalities about doing what was possible were

forthcoming from the high state officials. Rumors had floated about and were repeatedly reported in the press that several teachers colleges would be closed and that budgets would be still more drastically reduced. Much excitement had been created by these rumors.

The friends of the Millersville State Teachers College were active in furnishing materials to a favorable Lancaster press. Dr. Tanger wrote scores of letters to people in favorable positions in all walks of life. Numerous petitions by the Alumni Association, the Lions Clubs, the American Legion, and other reputable organizations were sent to the Governor, the Lieutenant Governor, and the legislators asking that all the state teachers colleges be retained and that they be adequately supported by state appropriations. Dr. Tanger was hopeful but insisted that Millersville must be vigilant. To clinch the case locally, Millersville, on the advice of the Joint Legislative Committee of the Association of Trustees and the Board of Presidents, entertained at dinner on December 6, 1933, the Lieutenant Governor and all but two of the members of the Legislature from the Second Normal School District of Lebanon, York, and Lancaster Counties. All the representatives present seemed favorably impressed with what Millersville and its sister institutions were trying to do. H. Edgar Sherts made a judicious presentation of the case for all the state teachers colleges, and reviewed the well-phrased petition of the Millersville Alumni Association adopted on Friday, December 2, 1932.

The Alumni Association's petition called for a sum of not less than $4,500,000 to be appropriated to the state teachers colleges out of tax receipts. It emphasized the separate status of the money appropriated out of tax money and money appropriated out of fees paid by students. A number of unfriendly newspapers, and some individuals who were not impressed with the work of the state teachers colleges were in the habit of speaking of a ten million dollar appropriation to the state teachers colleges, when in reality over six million dollars had previously been paid to the state treasury by the students of all the schools in the form of fees. Apparently many honest people, including a few legislators, believed and repeated the same false information, which required almost endless efforts to combat. An aspect of the problem dealt with in the alumni petition, and ably elaborated in Mr. Sherts' talk to the legislators, was the suggestion that all fees paid by the students be returned directly to the respective colleges.

Those state teachers colleges that were not as active as Millersville and Indiana, became considerably more active when Governor Pinchot's budget message was presented to the Pennsylvania Legislature. A flat $3,000,000 appropriation for the period 1933-1935 was proposed for the support of state teachers colleges, in addition to the amount that each institution would individually collect from its students. The state teachers colleges were asked to take a cut of thirty-two per cent from

the amount appropriated by law in 1931, while the state-aided institutions (Temple, University of Pennsylvania, University of Pittsburgh, the Medical Schools, and Pennsylvania State College) were asked to take a cut of only ten per cent. Governor Pinchot curtly informed the teachers colleges of the proposed reduction of thirty-two per cent, but apologetically informed the state-aided institutions of the ten per cent cut in their appropriations. The state teachers colleges did not like such treatment, and courteously, although emphatically, pointed out that such action was discriminatory against the very institutions that only a few years previously had been forced under state ownership.

If the Pennsylvania State Teachers Colleges were displeased with the Governor's budget message of January 10, 1933, they were virtually dismayed by the proposed revision of the School Code prepared by the Justice Department with the advice of the Department of Public Instruction and supposedly other interested groups under the provision of a law of 1931. This proposed revised School code was presented to the Legislature on February 6, 1933. It provided in Article XXX for the reduction of the total number of state teachers colleges by the State Council of Education to a suitable number not exceeding ten. It further provided that the local authority of the boards of trustees, which had been drastically curtailed by the Administrative Code of 1929, should now virtually be abolished in favor of a more highly centralized system of state control under the State Council of Education. These proposals in addition to the $3,000,000 proposed appropriation raised a storm of protest. While these matters were still in the rumor stage, President C. R. Foster of the Indiana State Teachers College stated that "The Recodification Committee which was appointed by Doctor Rule, in connection with his Ten-year Program never considered or even discussed the matter of closing any of the State Teachers Colleges, or of abolishing the Boards of Trustees of these colleges." Dr. Haas, chairman of the Committee, confirmed this strange state of affairs, which threw suspicion on the motives of Dr. Rule, Governor Pinchot, and the organization Republican leaders.

Whoever fathered the idea of abandoning at least four of the state teachers colleges had not planned wisely when they also wrote into the proposed code a provision to reduce the number of school districts to about twenty-five per cent of the number then existing and, furthermore, left the designation of the schools to be abandoned uncertain. The people directly or indirectly connected with the State teachers colleges constituted a rather formidable force of opinion. The new code was too heavily freighted with proposals to which there were almost explosive reactions to be seriously considered for passage as a unit.

Philip H. Dewey, the Secretary of Internal Affairs and President

of the State Teachers College Trustees' Association, in consultation with Dr. Foster and others, decided that Mr. H. Edgar Sherts of Lancaster would be the "most feasible person to represent the organization of trustees" at the public hearing on the proposed code on February 21, 1933. William T. Harris, the chairman of the Legislative Committee, enthusiastically agreed with the selection of Mr. Sherts, a very able and energetic Trustee of the Millersville State Teachers College, and officially instructed him to prepare the necessary briefs for the public hearing.

Dr. Landis Tanger, President of the Millersville State Teachers College, Dr. Foster and a number of other presidents and trustees had labored assiduously to win to their side many organizations that commanded considerable numbers of votes. Even though it is difficult to gauge their influence precisely, it can be said with a high degree of certainty that Dr. Tanger was personally responsible for many petitions and for many varied expressions of approval by many responsible organizations. The Lancaster papers were favorable to Millersville, as they had been favorable with few exceptions in the last seventy-five years. A number of influential representatives and senators, including all the second normal school district members, were effectively briefed and were considered "safe." Graduates of the normal schools were generally agreeable to the state teachers college idea, although there were those who believed that what was good enough for the old graduates should be good enough now, especially in a period of crisis. The state patronage had long been enjoyed by the communities in which the schools were located and these communities strongly supported the state teachers colleges.

Mr. Sherts knew that trouble lay ahead, although he hoped with Dr. Tanger that the long and creditable history of Millersville would save it, and that all schools would be given credit for what they had done as private institutions. The outlook was uncertain. The convention of school directors meeting in Harrisburg on February 1 and 2, 1933, was not interested in consolidating the hundreds of small school districts, of which there were more than two thousand with a population of less than five thousand, but they placed on the list of recommendations a consolidation of state teachers colleges and the elimination of at least four of them, which were not named. They recommended also, that all students pay tuition comparable to that paid in liberal arts colleges. This action was comprehensible to Millersville as an example of ungenerous and self-centered conduct.

Several of the liberal arts colleges were active in the competition for future secondary school teachers and went to some length to prove that high school teachers for first-class high schools were for years, and should continue to be, trained in the colleges. If some of the state teachers colleges were closed and the remainder confined to elementary

work, the liberal arts colleges would retain their rightful places, some of them believed. Dr. Carl Boyer of Muhlenberg College stated to the Pennsylvania State Education Association district convention at Reading that the liberal arts colleges of Pennsylvania had saved the state a sum of nearly twenty-two million dollars for the training of secondary school teachers in the years from 1921 to 1931 inclusive. In a time when teachers were vitally concerned with the Edmonds Act (mandated salaries) it was not difficult for some of them to become interested in any plan that would save precious dollars for the implementation of the salary act that was in jeopardy. However, not every liberal arts college considered itself engaged in a struggle for students with the state teachers colleges. President Henry H. Apple of Franklin and Marshall College, wished Millersville well in the following words:

> The Institution has a fine reputation for solid, thorough work and has sent out graduates who have made good records and rendered useful service in the community and throughout the state. You have not been led astray by extravagant or experimental work . . . . I am desirous of helping you to maintain an institution of which we are proud. This county would lose much if the college should be closed.

The Pennsylvania State Education Association was not in favor of the alarming provisions of Article XXX of the proposed school code as they related to the state teachers colleges, but its journal indicates that it was more interested in the implementation of the mandated salary provisions of the Edmonds Act, in pension rights, and in appropriations to the districts than in the troubles of the state teachers colleges. Therefore, little active assistance was to be expected from the state association, even though one of the state teachers college presidents was president of the state association.

In many cases opposition to the state teachers colleges resulted from honest conservatism. It had only been a relatively few years before this date that Superintendent of Public Instruction, Thomas E. Finegan, had effectively recommended that all work of the normal schools should be placed on a two-year college-equivalent basis. Many people could not understand why, in a period of ten years, the time required to train elementary and junior high school teachers should be advanced from two to four years.

Mr. Sherts had a good grasp of the problems that confronted him. He decided that it was not wise to fight on too many fronts at one time and therefore concentrated on the need to maintain all fourteen of the state teachers colleges as then constituted. In a simple and persuasive manner, Mr. Sherts, as the representative of both the trustees and the presidents, presented his case before the House and Senate Education Committees on February 21, 1933. He never represented a cause in which he believed more firmly or for which he received less

remuneration. He launched into the historical development of the fourteen state teacher training institutions, showing that step by step according to an "American concept" of education the state of Pennsylvania by degrees assumed its rightful place and assumed its recognized obligation in the field of teacher training. He carefully and logically developed the point of view that the state, by virtue of sections 2020 and 2034 of the School Code of 1911 and by virtue of the manner and circumstances under which the normal schools were acquired as the property of the state, had entered into a contractual obligation to maintain not only the Millersville State Normal School but all state normal schools. The Millersville authorities regarded the contractual relations argument as a strong bulwark against the abandonment of any of the state teacher training institutions, even though section 2034 had later been repealed by Pennsylvania Statute 177 in 1929. Apparently, according to Mr. Sherts, the moral force of a contractual obligation continued in spite of a general repeal covering a particular section.

Even though the main force of the argument was built on the contractual obligation of the state to continue the services of the normal schools, Mr. Sherts did point out that the abolition of the authority of the local board of trustees and the transfer of that authority to the State Council of Education was contrary to good management policies and that the state teachers colleges should be supported by the state, exclusive of student payments, to the extent of $4,500,000.

The efforts of Mr. Sherts and his Joint Legislative Committee, backed up by many petitions, letters, telegrams, and other means of persuasion apparently had a beneficial effect, at least for the time being. President Rothermel of Kutztown was agreeably surprised to find that Mr. Sherts had created a rather favorable impression on the legislators, both for himself and his cause. After the general hearing on February 21, further action on the state teachers colleges was referred to a Joint Sub-Committee of Education which met on February 28, 1933. Mr. Sherts of Millersville appeared before the Joint Sub-Committee of Education and after the Committee meeting had a very satisfactory interview with Representative Joseph A. Simon of Lock Haven. The Sub-Committee had, after prolonged discussion, unanimously adopted a set of resolutions favoring (1) the continued operation of the fourteen state teachers colleges and (2) the maintenance and management of these colleges by means of local boards of trustees appointed from the district.

The action of the Joint Sub-Committee of Education appeared to some hopeful people to have laid to rest the uncertainty about the continuance of the state teachers colleges and the boards of trustees, although resolutions and petitions to that effect still continued to flow into the hands of the legislators, showing clearly that not every-

body trusted the implied promises to stand by the actions of the committees. The Joint Sub-Committee had said nothing about relaxing the rigid state controls over purchasing that frequently resulted in exasperating delays ever since their adoption in 1929. It had been suggested that supplies and equipment costing less than $300 and repairs costing less than $5,000 be left entirely in the hands of the boards of trustees. The state teachers colleges also requested an appropriation of not less than $4,225,000 based on the assumption that all the schools would continue in operation.

There was room for some satisfaction, but the picture was still not clear on the matter of appropriations. Representative Joseph A. Simon expressed it as his considered opinion that Governor Pinchot would not approve an appropriation in excess of $3,000,000 but that nevertheless he (Simon) would be willing to introduce a bill appropriating $3,500,000. Dr. Steele, President of California State Teachers College, assured Mr. Sherts that Mr. Rule, the Superintendent of Public Instruction, had no hope for more than $3,000,000. Dr. Steele further expressed it as his opinion that the Senate Appropriations Committee would make an attempt to cut the proposed appropriation to a sum below $3,000,000 allowed by the Pinchot budget.

Throughout the month of March considerable uncertainty existed. The Board of Trustees at Millersville instructed President Tanger to notify all employees of a termination of contracts on May 31, 1933. Petitions, resolutions, and letters continued to flow in upon the legislators from the state teachers colleges, from the vocational education people and from other interested groups in various fields of education. Many of these pleas from educators were contradictory and uncoordinated and often confused and perplexed some legislators who were honestly desirous of doing what was right according to their best judgments. The special pleaders in other fields were almost legion.

In this period of uncertainty and confusion, Dr. James C. Bay, Superintendent of the Easton Public Schools, wrote a strong letter accusing the state teachers colleges of dishonesty in stating the need for teachers. Dr. Bay claimed that a large surplus of teachers existed even in the elementary field. He went on to say that "considering the large number of teachers now unemployed and the small number of vacancies that are likely to occur, $1,000,000 would be a handsome appropriation for the teacher training institutions for the next biennium." This letter was circulated among all the members of the House of Representatives.

Very few people who were ready to act on such advice knew that Dr. Bay was reported to have a unique faculty for judging the critical time in a difference of opinion and then throwing a bombshell. Apparently the letter arrived at a most inopportune time and judging from the haste and concern with which it was duplicated and sent out

to all teachers college presidents, it must have carried enough weight to be more than a nuisance.

After the usual crop of reports and rumors that often precede a decision of importance, a set of highly unfavorable reports issued from the pen of Dr. James N. Rule on April eighth. Governor Pinchot requested a further reduction of $6,394,000 in the education budget, the results of which would be "devastating" according to Dr. Rule. The general state educational subsidy, already low in comparison with New York and other comparable states, was reduced from a proposed $53,000,000 to $50,000,000. The second major suggestion was that the state teachers colleges have their proposed state budget reduced from $3,000,000 to approximately $1,000,000 for the biennium on the pattern of Dr. Bay's suggestion. To the dismay of many people who had supposed that the unanimous resolutions of the Joint Sub-Committee of Education in favor of the continuance of all the state teachers colleges had set the pattern for the future, a rider was attached to the House Appropriation Bill Number 260 denying appropriations to West Chester, East Stroudsburg, Clarion, and California. Even though Dr. Tanger and H. C. Cooper of Edinboro were certain that these measures would not finally pass the Legislature, the tension kept many college officials too much occupied with public relations activities.

The passage of House Bill Number 260 could not be prevented in the House of Representatives, but the chairman of the House Appropriations Committee, Dr. Joseph G. Steedle, agreed, at the time of the House passage on April 10, to allow $3,000,000 to be restored by the Senate and he also agreed to the withdrawal of the section withholding appropriations from West Chester, California, Clarion, and East Stroudsburg.

On that same day the legislative leaders had agreed that the Senate Appropriations Committee, with Senator Harry B. Scott as chairman, would accept the agreement on appropriations to be made by a Senate sub-committee with the college authorities, who were represented by H. Edgar Sherts and the Joint Legislative Committee of the trustees and presidents. The next day, on April 11, Mr. Sherts met with the Senate sub-committee consisting of Richard S. Quigley, G. Mason Owlett, Chauncey W. Parkinson, and John G. Homsher of Strassburg, Lancaster County. It was agreed by the college authorities, represented by Mr. Sherts, and this sub-committee that the Simon House Bill Number 1253 should be dismembered. Section Two of the Simon Bill, providing for a $3,000,000 appropriation to the state teachers colleges, should be struck out of that bill and inserted in House Appropriation Bill Number 260 to take the place of the objectionable features mentioned above. That would leave the Simon Bill with a provision authorizing the direct purchase of materials and supplies for the colleges by the agents of the trustees instead of through the Department of Property and Supplies at Harrisburg. It was the

opinion of Mr. Sherts, Dr. Tanger, and Mr. Symons that a saving could be thus effected by Millersville and the other schools. Senator John G. Homsher was requested to urge the Governor to sign the bill which passed the Legislature by the middle of April.

Mr. Sherts on April 18, assured his colleagues that the interests of the state teachers colleges in the Legislature would be taken care of by Senator Quigley and Representative Simon, both from Lock Haven. A week later Mr. Sherts was amazed to read in the newspapers that the appropriation to the teacher training institutions was to be reduced to $2,500,000. Mr. Sherts promptly wrote strong and unequivocal letters to Dr. Steedle and Senator Scott, chairmen of the House and Senate Appropriations Committees, respectively, to the senators of the special sub-committee that met on April 11, and to Representative Simon, reminding them of the specific promises that they had made and stating courteously but quite firmly that he expected them to keep their promises. Representative Joseph A. Simon assured Mr. Sherts of his efforts in behalf of the state teachers colleges, stating that he had a number of conferences with the Senate Appropriation Committee and felt "reasonably sure" that the $3,000,000 appropriation would be replaced. G. Mason Owlett secured the promise of Senator Scott, chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee, that the $3,000,000 would be replaced in the bill.

Dr. Steedle, however, appeared to be "troublesome" in the House, not being considered as meticulous with promises as the state teachers colleges would have preferred and of which he was politely reminded. Mr. Sherts courteously but firmly insisted on the $3,000,000 appropriation to the state teachers colleges and was finally rewarded with a statement from Senator Quigley that the appropriation was secured. Of Senator Quigley, the state teachers colleges' representative wrote: "I feel that without having had you to champion their cause in the Senate that there would have been a very different result in the matter of the appropriations to the Teachers Colleges."

There were others whom Mr. Sherts did not desire to thank for their efforts. On April 12 during a period of momentary hope, when he thought the fight was won, he wrote as follows and with much evidence on his side:

> On the whole I feel very well satisfied with the final disposition of our fight, and when we consider that the Governor, the Department of Public Instruction, and the Republican Organization in both Houses started out with the determination to close at least four of the colleges it appears to me that we should be very happy in the final determination of the matter as above stated.

On April 26, 1933, he wrote concerning Dr. Rule, Superintendent of Public Instruction, who had not conferred with the state teachers

college authorities on the extremely important matter of closing four state teachers colleges, and was therefore under suspicion from the beginning:

> Dr. Steele, Dr. Haas, and Dr. Foster have told me that they have insisted that Dr. Rule make a strong appeal for the $3,000,000 appropriation [for the State Teachers Colleges] but on account of his actions throughout this entire session of the Legislature they are of the opinion that they cannot trust Dr. Rule in the matter.

The new budget could be put into effect at Millersville only by means of heavy cuts. On July 6, 1933, all salaries at Millersville were reduced by ten per cent, in accordance with a recommendation made by Henry Klonower of the Department of Public Instruction. In August all salaries were put on a thirty-six week basis ranging from $1,851.39 to $3,471.39 paid to Paul Chandler. The increased student fees and various curtailments remained in effect until 1937.

In 1935 Dean Rivensburg of Bucknell University began another campaign against the state teachers colleges, but his attempt to convince the people of the state and the Legislature that a large saving could be achieved by giving the liberal arts colleges a major share in teacher training by abolishing secondary instruction in the state teachers colleges was hardly effective enough to raise a serious opposition organization. There was in 1935 no dangerous threat that any of the state teachers colleges would be abolished or that they would be seriously handicapped. There was danger, however, that relief interests would get relatively more emphasis than teacher training interests.

By 1937 the appropriations to the state teachers colleges had materially improved and by 1938, a building program for the state teachers colleges was again under way. Dr. Tanger and the Millersville Trustees were able to secure the construction of the Brooks Gymnasium, the Wickersham Recitation Hall, and a modern power house in 1938. These buildings were constructed by the General State Authority, a state financial institution set up by the Legislature of 1936 for the construction of state teachers college buildings and related projects. (See Chapter V.) The Millersville authorities made recommendations, but practically all decisions rested with the state.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF D. L. BIEMESDERFER
1943-195-

Dr. Tanger was succeeded in 1943 by D. L. Biemesderfer, a Millersville graduate in the class of 1917. As Dr. Andruss pointed out, the administrative and financial procedures have basically changed very little since 1937 when the state teachers colleges might be said to have weathered the depression. The state teachers colleges are no longer the entities that they were as private institutions. A large degree of in-

dividuality has been lost. Even though there is a high degree of uniformity among the state teachers colleges of Pennsylvania in salaries, curricula, finance, and administration there is a difference in spirit. At Millersville, under the presidency of D. L. Biemesderfer, there is an unusual atmosphere of friendly cooperation among all elements of the school. The Evaluating Committee of the Middle States Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools called particular attention in 1950 to that all-important characteristic of the college.

MILLERSVILLE STATE NORMAL SCHOOL
ABOUT 1870

CHAPTER IV

The Expansion of the Physical Plant

THE ORIGINAL BUILDINGS

WHEN the Lancaster County Normal School was officially approved as the first Pennsylvania State Normal School on December 3, 1859, the physical plant consisted in the main of two groups of connected buildings. The nucleus of the larger building consisted of the original three-story red-brick academy building erected in 1854 and still used as a boys' dormitory today. After the Normal Institute was converted into the Lancaster County Normal School in 1855, the Trustees, with the encouragement of Professor John F. Stoddard, added a three-story, L-shaped, brick addition to house additional students. This addition directly adjoined the east wall of the academy building and extended east and north, forming the present southeast corner of the boys' dormitory. In 1857 the very small academy chapel was enlarged by the construction of a three-story addition, part of which was torn down to make room for the new chapel and administration building in 1874. This addition to the chapel was an attempt to meet in part the requirements of the State Normal School Act of 1857, which required a chapel of sufficient size to seat one thousand people.

The depression of 1857, which belatedly descended upon Lancaster County, hampered the completion of the necessary physicial plant to house three hundred students, as required by law for recognition as a state normal school. The proposed expansion was delayed until 1859, when, with renewed energy and determination, the Trustees with the aid of the energetic principal, Professor James P. Wickersham, undertook the construction of the first part of what was known for more than fifty years as the Ladies' Building and which was in use as a girls' dormitory until very recently.

The latest structure in 1859 was a four-story brick building with stout-timbered internal construction. Three porches or balconies reached to the fourth floor. It was a strictly utilitarian building, with the exception of the balconies, which were, however, common architectural features of many buildings of the period. The attic was used somewhat sparingly as a gymnasium for the ladies, without any formal class instruction. Above the roof was constructed an observatory platform large enough to accommodate a class section for the study of astronomy. Its utility was largely theoretical. The fifty feet by forty feet model school chapel occupied the south portion of the first floor and is today utilized, without essential change, by Professor Porter as a music room. Smaller model school recitation rooms were located

on the first floor next to the chapel or main school room somewhat on the plan of the Providence, Rhode Island, school of a hundred years ago, the smaller classrooms providing one of the first important steps in the development of graded schools in Pennsylvania.

The Ladies' Building was heated by means of several improved models of hot air furnaces, with hot air flues conducting the heat to the rooms. This was no doubt a modern system of heating at the time. Thomas H. Burrowes, who had written a book on school architecture, was a member of the Board of Trustees when the plans for the building were drawn up and it is logical to suppose that his expert opinion was sought on this matter as it was sought and respected in other fields.

There was no running water in any of the dormitory rooms and, as a result, students constantly found it necessary to go to the well or the spring for a fresh drink of water even during study hours when the rules specifically provided that students should be in their respective rooms reading and studying. There were no sanitary facilities within the buildings. A line of privies on the bank above the baseball field provided the only sanitary arrangements. References to the problems connected with these primitive facilities would lead one to believe that, in spite of the use of carbolic acid and lime, these institutions of a bygone day were a source of contamination of the nearby source of drinking water and consequently a direct factor in the typhoid fever outbreaks that occurred from time to time. Bathing was inconvenient and there is evidence that some of the students did not inconvenience themselves too frequently. The inconvenience of disposing of the contents of the wash basins and other porcelain ware led some of the students to violate the strict rules against the throwing of water, as the faculty politely referred to it, from the windows.

The oldest building, consisting of the original academy and two additions, contained all the classrooms, literary society library rooms, boys' dormitory facilities, chapel, and quarters for the steward's department. In the southeast section of the basement (where the boys' day room is now located) the dining room was located until 1875, when the new administration and chapel building was erected with dining room facilities on the ground floor. The kitchen was located in the square formed by the present dining room, dining room annex (formerly the old chapel), and the west and north sides of the present boys' domitory. In later years this area was filled in with ground and all physical traces of the kitchen were obliterated.

In the older building the heating arrangements were somewhat more elementary than in the more recently constructed Ladies' Building. Coal stoves in the halls furnished heat in the older parts of the building, while hot air furnaces warmed the newer parts. At one time there were more than thirty furnaces and stoves in operation to heat the normal school buildings. Steam heating was not completed until 1911.

All the buildings were lighted by means of "coal oil" lamps until the belated introduction of electricity in 1907.

As might be expected, the whitewashed dormitory rooms were severely plain and as plainly furnished with chairs, tables, wash stands, book shelves, and double beds with mattresses constructed of heavy ticking filled with suitable grades of corn husks. Single beds were not introduced until the turn of the century when it was necessary to do so to prevent students from going elsewhere. Porcelain pitchers, wash basins (hotel style), porcelain chambers with covers, and a waste bucket completed the contents of the rooms. Pictures on the walls were not permitted.

Barns to house the horses and cows, stables to house the pigs that consumed the garbage, and wagon sheds completed the buildings of the Normal School in 1859.

POST CIVIL WAR EXPANSION

During the Civil War period the Normal School faced serious problems with a reduced enrollment and an increased debt. When the Confederate Army reached Columbia on the Susquehanna River and the bridge was burned to prevent the enemy from moving in mass into Lancaster County, the Normal School was temporarily closed. Principal Wickersham marched off to war at the head of the three-month 47th Regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteers in which were enrolled many normal school students. The school reopened in the fall but the attendance did not begin to increase until 1864. The bonded indebtedness amounted to $16,000 in 1863. A second appropriation of $5,000 by the state in 1863 alleviated the difficult financial situation and materially assisted the institution in weathering the critical period coinciding in time with the Confederate invasion of Pennsylvania.

By the end of the school year of 1865, the general state of affairs had greatly improved. A third legislative appropriation of $5,000 was used entirely for the reduction of debts. At the end of the war there was a pronounced influx of students, many of them ex-soldiers. By the end of 1866, the annual tuition payments had increased to $19,265 as contrasted with $7,520 for 1861. Also, by careful management, the bonded indebtedness was reduced to $2,500, $9,500 having been paid on debts in a single year. The attendance late in the same year numbered in excess of four hundred students.

The increased enrollment and consequent increase in waste water overtaxed the ability of the small stream beyond the privy bank to convey the fluid waste beyond the school grounds without becoming "filthy." On orders from the Trustees, a large well was sunk to absorb the waste water. It is interesting to note that one well received the waste water and another on the same property produced the drinking water. It was not until near the close of the century that such

potential health hazards were required to be removed by the State Board of Health.

Throughout the year 1866 the prospects for the Normal School looked brighter and brighter. A law of 1866 making appropriations of fifty cents per week to prospective teachers over seventeen years of age and fifty dollars to all graduates improved the attendance and consequently the financial position of the institution. By the end of the year 1866 the Trustees were decidedly in a frame of mind to consider new buildings. A committee consisting of Edward Brooks, the newly appointed principal, J. G. Peters, Jacob M. Frantz, Jacob K. Shenk, John Brady, George Levan, and Jacob Gamber was appointed on December 1 to consider physical expansion. After exploring a number of avenues, the committee after four months presented plans and specifications for a principal's residence.

At a special meeting of the Board of Trustees (April 20, 1867) Principal Brooks, in a generous and far-sighted manner, declined to accept increased comforts and prestige for himself and strongly recommended that the "interest of the school demands that the married teachers be retained in the building so as to secure more fully their influence, and that he would therefore favor the postponement of the building of the Principal's house and erect instead an addition to the building in which room for himself, married teachers, and outside boarders be secured." Before the meeting adjourned it was agreed to have plans, specifications, and probable costs for an addition presented to the next meeting of the Board. With the usual reluctance to rush into matters of considerable importance, the members of the Board held a number of "spirited discussions" over another period of four months and finally on August 3, 1867, voted in favor of a building after surveying the financial picture and finding it encouraging and after receiving a report to the effect that the prospects for attendance were good. The Trustees had decided correctly. By September the school was full and more ladies had applied than could be accommodated. Principal Brooks reported the highest enrollment in its history for the past year, 812 students having enrolled for periods ranging from a few days to the full forty-two weeks.

By October 5, 1867, the Building Committee had purchased 200,000 bricks at $8.25 per thousand. The Committee asked for further instructions and Andrew M. Frantz's suggestion that lumber be sawed as soon as possible so as to season was favorably received by the Board. All this activity took place before the final drafts of the building were approved. The first plans must have been rather simple in view of the fact that they cost only $65. They provided for a four-story L-shaped brick addition to the original Ladies's Building extending ninety feet north and west. The usual multiple deck porches and balconies were planned to harmonize with the 1859 structure. All

attempts on the part of the more cautious Trustees to postpone action were argued down by Andrew M. Frantz and J. G. Peters, the former of whom had adopted the Normal School as his major interest aside from his family and earning a living in the profession of law. Before the end of the year the Finance Committee, one of the five standing committees, was instructed to examine the financial strength of the institution and to borrow the necessary money at six per cent.

David Hartman, a Trustee from 1858-1881, was appointed by the Building Committee to serve as general superintendent at $3.50 per day and traveling expenses. He was granted full powers by the Board of Trustees to procure materials, employ and discharge help and, with the Building Committee, to exercise a general supervision over all matters pertaining to the construction of the new building, which was to house additional students and which was to provide apartments for the principal and teachers as suggested by Deputy-Superintendent C. R. Coburn. In the pursuance of his duties, David Hartman contracted for the plastering at "fourteen cents per yard solid measure," for the brickwork at four dollars per thousand, for the stonework at one dollar per perch, and for excavating the cellar at thirty-two cents per cubic yard for clay. These contracts were presented by the Building Committee and after the usual "spirited discussion" approved by the Board.

Permissive state legislation providing for the issuing of $15,000 in bonds to finance the building project, secured by a mortgage on the property of the school and payable in not more than five years, was passed early in the session of 1868. There are several factors that indicate the relatively sound financial situation of Millersville at this time. In the first place, the state permitted an interest rate of only six per cent, while at the same session it granted Mansfield State Normal School the right to pay as high as ten per cent interest per annum on the same type of mortgage bond. Also, no difficulty appears to have been encountered in the sale of the bonds, which were of the unwieldy denomination of $500. In addition, bonds were bought by the Lancaster County Insurance Company.

By August 1, 1868, the brick work was completed and the building was ready for use by the time the full complement of students had arrived for the winter session. The total cost of the entire addition was $16,631. A short period of stringent economy in the operation of the school followed, particularly in the household department.

The wisdom of erecting the large addition to the Ladies' Building was amply justified by the enrollment and the state of general prosperity. In 1870, Principal Brooks reported to the Board of Trustees, of which he and his successors were advisory members, that the "present year is the most profitable we ever had." Students were attracted to the most prosperous state normal school in the Common-

wealth from more than forty counties of the state and from several neighboring states. The extensive institute work and the textbooks written by Wickersham and Brooks had brought the Millersville State Normal School to the favorable attention of many teachers throughout the state.

During the five years following the major improvements of 1868, the Board of Trustees was concerned with smaller problems of plant improvement, but kept its eyes on the goal of a new chapel building that was set for it by Professor Brooks. Among these smaller improvements was the erection of a small brick laboratory for the use of Professor Thomas R. Baker at the northwest corner of the Chapel. The plank walks were renewed and extended. Some of the faculty rooms were papered and the students rooms cleaned and whitewashed. There was a frequent concern with the santiary facilities (privies), which required almost constant study and attention in view of the increased enrollment.

THE NEW CHAPEL BUILDING

By 1873 Professor Brooks believed the time ripe for another big expansion movement. He "congratulated the Board on the prosperity of the School" and at the same time recommended the enlargement of the physical plant. The Normal School was honestly managed and the finances were in a sound condition. The bonds that were issued in 1868 were paid off and the floating indebtedness was small. A net capital gain of over $13,000 had been made for the years 1872 and 1873. "After a lengthy discussion and interchange of opinion [on July 5, 1873] in regard to building a new chapel," the Conference Committee which consisted of the chairmen of standing committees, the president, and the principal, was instructed to make a drawing and estimate of the contemplated building and to report at the next meeting of the Board. The panic of 1873 intervened and action was postponed until early in 1874, when Andrew M. Frantz suggested that the Conference Committee take "initiatory steps" in the form of plans and specifications, that they visit other schools to mature their ideas, and that they submit an estimate of cost. After hearing the reports, Andrew M. Frantz moved, and the Board approved, that the construction of the new chapel be postponed until the spring of 1875.

The picture changed radically a few months later when Senator John B. Warfel, a Trustee, reported that the Legislature had made an appropriation of $60,000, in addition to the direct allowance of $20,000 to prospective teachers, to the state normal schools and that Millersville could get its share ($15,000) "without restrictions."

At a special meeting of the Board of Trustees on May 16, 1874, Principal Brooks explained the purpose of the meeting to be the matter of discussing the propriety of erecting a new chapel, admini-

stration, and classroom building during the summer of 1874. The Conference Committee strongly urged action at once. Jacob M. Frantz, whose main contribution for many years was to urge caution and economy, suggested that careful thought should be given to the entire project, which was to involve the greatest single expenditure in the history of the school. The Trustees listened with respect but unanimously decided to instruct the Conference Committee "to proceed at once to carry the resolution into effect subject to instructions from the Board from time to time." Before the next Board meeting in June of 1874, the Conference Committee had already put part of the building under contract and work had commenced.

The Chapel Building was the largest single building (60 feet by 128 feet) that had ever been constructed by the Normal School. Most of the work was done under contract by John A. Burger from plans and specifications drawn up by Frank B. Kendrick for a fee of one hundred dollars. The four-story Chapel Building was placed directly between the Ladies' and Gentlemen's Buildings so as to facilitate access from the adjoining buildings. This was convenient but increased the ever present fire hazard. It necessitated the removal of part of the old chapel built in 1857 and the removal of the enclosed one-story passage way between the older buildings.

The Chapel Building was a substantial structure. It was four stories tall, the tower being five stories in height to accommodate the one thousand pound bell that rang out on appropriate occasions. The first floor contained the kitchen, dining room, and Trustees' room. The Trustees' room occupied the space enclosed by the heavy pillars opposite Dean Stine's old office and now used as a lobby to the old dining room. This same space was successively transformed into a reference library room, a dining room annex, and a lobby. The second floor was occupied by the book room, the principal's office, and the public office. The Chapel room (89 feet by 56 feet) occupied the west end of the second and third stories. Access to the Chapel was secured by means of two spiral staircases leading from the first floor to the fourth. Direct access to the Chapel from the outside was not secured until 1906, when the large iron stairways were put in place. The Chapel was beautifully wainscoted with selected ash and walnut. Heavy settees of walnut and ash were installed to seat comfortably at least one thousand people. The walls and ceilings were frescoed in "excellent taste." On the ceiling were portraits of men and women eminent in literature, art, education, and statesmanship, including Shakespeare, Sir Isaac Newton, Mrs. Somerville, Mary Lyon, Horace Mann, Thomas H. Burrowes, Washington, and Jefferson. "Besides these, there are symbolic designs and classic portraits, . . . which, with the neatness and suitability of the tints chosen, gives us a room not surpassed in beauty by any school chapel in the state," according to Professor Brooks.

Directly in front of the Chapel on the third floor were located the two literary society rooms, in the area now occupied by the Business Manager. On the fourth floor were located the classrooms.

Six hot air furnaces were installed to heat the Chapel Building. Dr. Brooks believed that the system was superior to steam.

The total cost of the Chapel Building, including furnishings, was $48,300.32 as summarized by Professor Brooks, who was the chairman of the Conference Committee that managed the planning and erection of the entire building. The cost of the Chapel Building without furnishings was $36,273.86.

Even though the contract for the construction work was awarded to a responsible contractor for $28,500, the Conference Committee supervised the work very closely. Between May 16, 1874 and April 17, 1875, the time when the building was under active construction, the Conference Committee met fifty-two times for an average session of three hours. Principal Edward Brooks attended every meeting. Andrew M. Frantz, who was the guiding spirit in the expansion period following 1890, served faithfully as the Secretary. Edward Brooks modestly took a measure of credit for having kept the idea of a new Chapel alive over a period of years, but generously gave credit to the Trustees for embarking on a venture of no mean proportions while the effects and uncertainties of the Panic of 1873 were still evident.

The new building was occupied on February 15, 1875, after appropriate and somewhat emotional farewells spoken in the old chapel by representatives of the Normal and Page Literary Societies and by Dr. Brooks. The Normal Society speaker, after saying farewell to the Chapel table on which rested the Bible, to the chair occupied daily by the "beloved principal," and to the organ finally came to the benches and the clock:

> Ye old benches, worn with use and cut with mischievous knives, upon which so many have sat and listened to words of reproof, advice, and love, we feel for you a strong attachment. Ye have rested many weary ones in the past, but what may be your work in the future we know not, but we part from you as old friends in sorrow.
>
> O thou old clock that hangest on the wall, faithful recorder of the passing hours, we love thee dearly. Thou art ever pointing to hours wasted by us, and telling us time is fast passing away, and warning us to improve the precious moments as they fly . . . . we know that thou wilt ever be true to thy duty; telling, and I trust, convincing many of us, that now is the only time we can call our own, and that the time is fast approaching when we will leave our earthly home, to dwell in one prepared by Him who has so graciously blessed us during the sojourn of life.

After the construction and occupation of the new building, the old Chapel, the recitation rooms, the library rooms, and offices in the original academy building were no longer needed and were, therefore, converted into dormitory rooms for some of the 655 summer students. During the summer of 1875, a fourth floor was added to the Gentlemen's Building on the advice of the Conference Committee, at a contract price of $6,750 for the rough work.

Six new hot air furnaces were purchased for $1,475 and installed in the basement. These furnaces replaced the unsatisfactory method of heating by means of coal stoves in the halls. The total number of hot air furnaces now numbered twenty-six in the three buildings and kept two firemen quite busy making the rounds. With the latest additions to the physical plant, the total number of dormitory rooms now stood at the relatively high number of 229 occupied as follows: male students, 111 rooms; female students, 81 rooms; teachers, 30; music, 5; reference library, 1; day students, 1.

The heavy building expenditures of 1874-1875, amounting to approximately $60,000, were met by means of surplus earnings of previous years, a $15,000 state appropriation, and a $20,000 bond issue drawing interest at six per cent and payable in five years. Some pressing debts were paid by means of temporary loans secured from the Farmers Bank in Lancaster. A state appropriation of $10,000 in 1877 eased the financial problem. Other schools received as much as $35,000 in 1877. Millersville had not fared nearly as well in state appropriations as the other state normal schools because it was in a sound financial condition, was prosperous, and was therefore judged to be better able to take care of itself than most of the other schools.

Between the expansion periods of 1875 and 1890-1895 a four-story spring house was planned in 1879. The lots on which the present Junior High School now stands were acquired through the foresight of Professor Brooks, George K. Reed, Jacob M. Frantz, and Andrew M. Frantz, who bought the land from the estate of Jacob K. Shenk, after a committee of Trustees had not recommended the purchase. A year later the Trustees reconsidered their action and acquired the land at the same price that the four owners paid for it with six per cent interest. In 1883, the Trustees rejected an offer by the John Brady Estate to sell the brick yard lot on which the Library and Science Buildings were later constructed. This same property was later acquired only after a six-months series of negotiations. Professor Brooks resigned as principal in 1883 and was succeeded by B. F. Shaub, a member of the scientific class of 1869 and a former Superintendent of Lancaster County common schools. Principal Shaub was not as aggressive, as energetic, or as far-sighted as Dr. Brooks. These factors, plus a temporarily declining enrollment discouraged major physical expansion.

However, a large standpipe was erected in 1886 and water was

piped to the various floors of the buildings but not into the individual dormitory rooms. The sanitary problems were solved for the time being by erecting a separate brick water closet building, popularly known as the "casino," for the gentlemen at a distance of about a hundred feet from the Gentlemen's Building. This building is now used as an electric shop. Also, a new brick water closet building was constructed for the ladies on the site of the present larger structure. The Special Committee on Improvements completed its work by 1887 at a cost of over $10,000. This included provision for cooking by steam. These and a number of smaller projects constituted the more important improvements, for which the students and teachers were grateful, until the expansion period of 1890 got under way. By that time B. F. Shaub had abruptly resigned and was succeeded by Dr. E. Oram Lyte, a dynamic expansionist.

EXPANSION UNDER DR. LYTE

When E. Oram Lyte was elected to the principalship in 1887, he at once proceeded to address the Board "at length" on the needs of the school. The number of students had increased and Professor Lyte was ready for plant expansion. He regularly attended the Trustees' meetings and was active in the deliberations. His judgment was relied on in many important situations and he was not reticent in advancing his opinions, in which respect he resembled Dr. Wickersham.

By July 6, 1889, the Board of Trustees was ready for another period of physical expansion. On that day it was resolved:

> . . . . that an Executive Committee composed of seven members of this Board in addition to the President, who is ex-officio a member, shall be appointed, whose duty it shall be to consider all questions concerning the general welfare of the institution and to recommend such measures as may in their judgment be calculated to promote its best interests, elevate its standing, and increase its usefulness and efficiency.

George K. Reed, the president, followed the example of the Conference Committee of ten years earlier and appointd the heads of all standing committees to membership in this important Committee. Dr. Lyte on motion was added to the Executive Committee. The original Committee consisted of Andrew M. Frantz, chairman; George K. Reed; Charles Denues; Jacob M. Frantz; E. O. Lyte; Dr. P. W. Hiestand; Amos H. Mylin; John M. Stehman; and H. M. Mayer, secretary. Within a month ex-Senator John M. Stehman died and was replaced by State Senator John B. Warfel. Three of the above members were or had been state senators. Amos H. Mylin was on the Committee primarily because of his support of normal school legislation as a senator at Harrisburg. The devotion of a number of these men to the Normal School is indicated by the fact that the chairman, Andrew M. Frantz, attended 130 Executive Committee meetings out

of 131 to December, 1893; Dr. Hiestand, 120; H. M. Mayer, 127; and Dr. Lyte, 114.

The Board of Trustees, after discussing the need for a library and a gymnasium on July 6, 1889, promptly handed the new Executive Committee its first problem—the consideration of ways and means to acquire adequate library and gymnasium facilities. At its first meeting the Executive Committee agreed to working rules including the reasonable provision that four members should constitute a quorum.

After one preliminary discussion of the library and gymnasium needs of the school, Dr. Lyte and Senator Mylin were directed to study the problem and to suggest a number of buildings that should be visited by the Committee. The Board agreed to pay the expenses of the Executive Committee in visiting such libraries and gymnasiums as Dr. Lyte might suggest. In the middle of January, 1890, Dr. Lyte led four members of the Committee and the steward, Christian Eiseman, on a two-day tour of inspection of the libraries and gymnasiums of Lafayette College, Lehigh University, Bryn Mawr College, and various buildings in Philadelphia. They returned "greatly benefited," communicated their findings to the Board, and were promptly authorized by the Board of Trustees to proceed with the plans for the erection of a gymnasium, without any power of final action, however, except with "express authority from this board to be given at some future time." Dr. Lyte suggested that the faculty members should impress upon the Trustees the need for a library building and a gymnasium whenever the occasion arose.

The Executive Committee visited Dickinson College in February, 1890, to study both the library and the co-educational gymnasium. At Dickinson College, as at Millersville, two independent literary societies with their own libraries were housed in the same building with the college library. The gymnasium at Dickinson was used by both sexes "without difficulty," and represented the most for the money.

While maturing its ideas on a suitable gymnasium, the Executive Committee was busy with other matters as well. As time went on the Committee assumed more and more powers and in many cases dealt with matters that were formerly in the hands of the standing committees. Early in the spring of 1890, the Committee decided that one of the three balconies on the gentlemen's side should be torn down because it was not in a safe condition. This was the first step in the dismantling of the traditional balconies, which was not always looked upon with favor by the old graduates.

During the month of April, 1890, the Executive Committee presented its ideas to James A. Warner, an architect in Lancaster, who made a rough sketch of a gymnasium that he believed would probably cost $9,000. The Executive Committee was pleased with the rough plans and presented them to the Board, which approved them and instructed Mr. Frantz and his committee to proceed with bids. Mr.

Warner, the architect, agreed with the Executive Committee to make the working drawings and to superintend the erection of the building at a compensation of three per cent of the cost. Jacob M. Frantz, a member of the Finance Committee for many years, in a letter to the Committee cautioned against extravagance.

When the bids on the gymnasium were opened it was found, as Jacob M. Frantz had suspected, that they were too high. The highest bid was $15,983 and the lowest $13,874. All the bids were accordingly rejected and Mr. Warner was directed to prepare new drawings and specifications. On the second bidding (July 14, 1890) D. H. Rapp, who had been only third lowest on the first bidding, was awarded the contract on a bid of $10,385.

In the meantime the Executive Committee, following the suggestion of the Board of Trustees to locate the gymnasium north of the Ladies' Building, had exactly located the stakes outlining the ground plan of the building. After viewing the grounds most meticulously a few days later, the stakes were moved ten feet to the West. Also, the suggestion to connect the gymnasium with the main building by means of an additional hall twelve feet wide was dropped. The linking together of the buildings and the construction of extensions and annexes was a favorite and well-established policy, that resulted in a vertiable hodge-podge of connected buildings and a serious fire hazard. This policy was temporarily not followed but was extensively applied beginning with the Ladies' Annex in 1892.

The Board had also authorized the Executive Committee to proceed with the erection of a boiler house that would be suitable for housing all the boilers needed to heat all the buildings by steam, including the "contemplated" science and library buildings. Christian Eiseman, the steward, was directed by the Executive Committee to purchase the materials and to superintend the erection of the boiler house. Bids were secured by Mr. Eiseman on the various jobs in connection with the construction of the boiler house. The bids were examined by the Committee and the lowest responsible ones selected, after which Mr. Eiseman superintended the work. The brickwork, the supplying of the slate, the construction and installation of two fifty horsepower boilers, the excavation and similar jobs were done on contract by the lowest bidders[1]. The carpentry work, slating, and similar jobs were done by the day with Mr. Eiseman managing the construction job.

Before the laying of the cornerstone of the gymnasium on August 25, 1890, the Executive Committee was busy with many other activities Bids were invited for the painting of the outside woodwork twice and for the painting of the outside brickwork once in oil on the north,

[1] Lowest bids: Two improved fifty horsepower boilers. $1,470; excavating, 20¢ per cubic yard for ground, 70¢ per perch for stone; best Northampton County Slate at $7.50 per square.

south, and east sides, but not the back or west side. John Apple was the lowest bidder at $620 for the outside painting job, not including the paint. A week after Mr. Apple began painting, the Committee was so much impressed with the improvements wrought that it decided to paint almost everything in sight, including a brand new brick smoke stack for the boiler house. Further contracts were made with Mr. Apple to paint the inside of the Ladies' Building, two coats for $145, the inside of the Gentlemen's Building, two coats for $136, the outside of the laundry building and the boys' water closet ("casino") $86, and the rear brick work of the main building for $362, making a total additional cost of $729. All the boys' rooms and all the halls were papered. The Executive Committee seemed to take a minute interest in everything, and was continually making almost endless changes in the new construction work as well as in the old buildings.

The Executive Committee not only had construction problems on its hands but also any other problems that the Board of Trustees wished to refer to it, including health problems. On August 2, 1890, Dr. Lyte received a letter from the State Board of Health concerning the open sewer on the school property. This problem was referred to the Committee. The problem of sanitary facilities existed from the beginning and in the earlier period, before the water closets were installed, the privy problems and typhoid fever were apparently definitely related. The open sewer which was located directly behind the spring house, extended in an open ditch under the turnpike and down into Mr. Herr's field. It is easily understandable that the sewage from an institution of more than nine hundred people (in the summer time) flowing into an open ditch not two hundred feet away from the buildings would constitute not only an aesthetic menace but also a health menace, besides being quite as objectionably odorous as the four untrapped sinks and "slop hoppers" in the Gentlemen's Building. The temporary remedy seemed to lie in constructing a terra cott sewer line from the outlet to a distance of at least three hundred feet into Mr. Herr's field, directly south across the turnpike. From that point the raw sewage was channeled into the Conestoga River.

In the meantime, on August 25, 1890, the cornerstone for the new gymnasium was laid. The construction of the gymnasium, as the *Lancaster Morning News* pointed out, was necessary to keep the Millersville State Normal School at the head of the vigorous competitive race for patronage. For a number of years the educational periodicals of the state and nation had been stressing the need for physical education. It was evident that "she must do what the times demand . . . if she would maintain her standing as the leading normal school in the state." A separate gymnasium building had already been constructed at West Chester and other normal schools of the state were contemplating the construction of such buildings.

As the construction of the gymnasium continued it was discovered

that in the attempt to reduce the cost of the building a number of seemingly minor but essential items had been omitted or overlooked in the brick modified romanesque structure. The building was equipped with long coils of steam pipes tapped into the main in the Ladies' Building and with radiators in the office and vestibule. A massive chimney was constructed, apparently only to complete the architectural symmetry of the building. The latest shower baths were included but no mention of water closets was made. To drain the waste water into the sewer the old six inch pipe leading from the kitchen to the hog stable was dug up and used as a sewerage pipe. Late in the year the building was practically complete except for pitching and simple bowling alleys and the completion of the heating arrangements.

Dr. Lyte had entered enthusiastically into the spirit of the physical culture movement and lost no time in searching out the best of physical education equipment. He and Christian Eiseman, the steward, visited Philadelphia to inspect equipment and also gained information from what they saw at the West Chester State Normal School Gymnasium. A close study of physical culture equipment led Dr. Lyte to recommend the Narragansett Company of Providence, Rhode Island, as manufacturers of superior apparatus. The list of equipment recommended by Dr. Lyte was extensive and included weights, dumbbells, pulleys, spring boards, and much other equipment with impressive scientific names. To measure improvement appropriate "anthropometric apparatus—scales, chest calipers, shoulder calipers, a dry spirometer, grip dynamometer" . . . were purchased. The elaborate scientific terminology for relatively simple apparatus and techniques and the enthusiasm with which amazing results were expected lead one to believe that the approach to physical education was to some extent that of a faddist.

The expenses incident to the construction of the gymnasium and the boiler house, added to the cost of an extensive painting program, were too heavy for the ordinary current revenues of the Normal School. In December the Finance Committee was therefore authorized to borrow $10,000 to pay the current bills and in March, 1891, a further request was made and granted for "authority to borrow any amount of money needed to meet the obligations of the school." The credit of the school was good and temporary loans were readily secured without mortgage on the property. Perhaps it should be mentioned that the Millersville Trustees were quite regularly directly represented not only in the Legislature, but also on the board of directors of important banks in Lancaster. Whether this was by design or by accident cannot be positively established, but the relationship was bound to be helpful.

After the completion of the gymnasium building and the improvement of the main buildings, the Board of Trustees raised its sights

and aimed at two new buildings to be financed out of anticipated substantial state subsidies. Other state normal schools in the preceding twenty-five years had received large state appropriations, largely on the basis that they were poor and were direly in need of state subsidies to render them capable of training the teachers so seriously needed by the Commonwealth. Millersville smarted under this form of seemingly partial treatment. Wickersham as State Superintendent spoke against the practice. Now in this period of prosperity immediately preceding the Panic of 1893, Millersville proceeded on the basis that the school had rendered a great service to the state and by virtue of that service had earned the right to be finally considered for a special appropriation. The matter of special appropriations was discussed by the normal school principals and the State Superintendent on February 4, 1891, but no conclusions were reached beyond the certainty of an appropriation sufficient to yield to every state normal school the sum of $7,500 annually, the same as for the preceding year.

With confidence and determination the Board "resolved that this board of trustees regard the erection of a building the present year for library purposes as an indispensable necessity." In that same meeting of February 8, 1891, the Board proceeded to act independently of the other normal schools and appointed a special committee "to solicit the Legislature of Pennsylvania for a special appropriation to this institution for the erection of a library building, scientific building, completion of steam heating and steam plant and payment of debts." The Honorable J. B. Warfel, editor of the *New Era*; President George K. Reed; Senator Amos H. Mylin; and Dr. Lyte were appointed to the small but important special appropriations committee. This committee lost no time in getting into action. Four days after its creation the committee was busy at Harrisburg lining up the support of the members from the Second Normal School District for the special appropriation. The first direct contact with the Legislature during the 1891 session promised success. Senator Mylin, a member of the special appropriations committee appointed by Millersville, introduced a bill providing for a special subsidy of $96,000 to the Normal School. The Executive Committee was "praying for its passage without interruption."

The appeals to the Legislature were made on a strictly nonpartisan basis with the support of the Lancaster papers. A special printed circular was distributed to all members of the Legislature. The committee in a brief, courteous, and straightforward manner pointed out to the Legislature that:

> Millersville has had a total attendance to date of 22,914 students, more than twice as many as any other Normal School in the state. Although Millersville is the oldest Normal School in the State it has received less appropriation for maintenance

> than any other School except the two started in 1887 and 1889. Its average appropriation for maintenance has been about $3,300 since it organization. In proportion to the number of students, it has received less than one-half as much appropriation as the next lowest, and about one-twelfth as much as the highest.

The circular further pointed out that every year substantial increases were made in the total tangible assets of the school and that these increases were considerably in excess of the amounts contributed by the state. Since there were no mortgage claims against the school other than the $95,000 mortgage held by the state, "all the improvements are therefore made for the benefit of the state on property against which there is no claim except the claim held by the State." The committee further emphasized that "Millersville is in reality a State Normal School," which was not entirely correct, but served as a good argument to gain a specific objective. In this entire campaign for increased state support, Senator Mylin, a member of the Board of Trustees, was "doing heroic service."

In spite of the best efforts of the friends of Millersville, the appropriation was sometimes in doubt. In fact, the Executive Committee discontinued holding meetings during April and May of 1891, the period in which the greatest degree of uncertainty existed. It was even necessary for Dr. Lyte to go to Harrisburg to argue for the payment of the full fifty cents per week state allowance to all prospective teachers. The financial picture brightened suddenly with the signing by the governor of the special appropriation bill on June 6, 1891. The Trustees were unanimously thankful to Senator Mylin for his efforts in securing for the second district normal school a special appropriation of $27,500 for a library and $22,500 for a natural science building. The Executive Committee sprang into action a few days after the special bill was signed and proceeded to recommend the erection of a library building that same season, the purchase of the Reed property of seventy-seven feet frontage directly across the street for $2,300, and the raising of the pay of the ironing girls from $3 to $3.25 per week and the dining room girls from $2.50 to $3 per week. The financial picture was brightened still further in July by the payment of the regular yearly maintenance appropriation of $7,500 to all normal schools and the payment of the student aid provided by a law of 1866.

At the meeting of the Executive Committee on July 22, 1891, Dr. Lyte was authorized to consult with architect James A. Warner concerning plans for a library building. The ideas of the Committee had not been completely matured by this time and seven of them again visited Philadelphia to study the University of Pennsylvania

Library and the public library on Locust Street. On their return, Dr. Lyte prepared a plan which was adopted by the Executive Committee as the "general plan of the library building," which was to cost about $25,000 to put under roof. The architectural fee requested by Mr. Warner was three per cent for drawing all plans and specifications and for supervising the erection of the building. The Executive Committee reflected the same frugal characteristic as the Board sometimes displayed and decided to employ Mr. Warner "at the lowest rate possible." It was not uncommon for the Trustees to haggle over a price and to drive hardfisted bargains. As might be expected, Mr. Warner reduced his fee to two and one half per cent after meeting the Committee.

The library project had hardly gotten under way when difficulties concerning payments on the special appropriation developed and chairman Andrew M. Frantz of the Executive Committee was instructed "to write to the auditor-general at Harrisburg with regard to the lapsing of the special appropriation granted by the state for the erection of a library and scientific buildings at Millersville." The letter in reply from the auditor-general was unsatisfactory. Senator Mylin, who had done very creditable work in securing the passage of the special appropriation bill, agreed to see the auditor-general. The uncertainty continued from September until December, 1891, during which time the Executive Committee did not hold meetings. In December the mortgage forms, to be signed as security for the $50,000 that was to be granted on a quarterly basis, finally arrived.

Dr. Lyte had not been inactive in the meantime. He and Mr. Warner had gone to New York City to study scientific buildings. At the meeting of the Committee directly before Christmas, Dr. Lyte presented a plan for the proposed scientific building. This plan, providing for a three-story structure with two wings, was very satisfactorily explained by the principal and was adopted as the general guide to be used by the architect in drawing the detailed plans.

Another element of uncertainty was the plain fact that the Trustees did not have a suitable lot on which to erect these buildings. A committee of two Trustees had been appointed early in July (1891) to inquire into and report on the purchase of the Smith lot directly north of the gymnasium and including the area on which the library, science building, Wickersham Hall and the lake are now located. This was the site of an abandoned brickyard. The committee reported progress but no purchase. In October, Mr. Warfel moved that the lots be purchased for the reported price of $2,700. The proposition was discussed "at great length" on the afternoon of October 3, 1891, and again after supper but the motion was not carried. Jacob M. Frantz had a "theory" on how to secure the lots and was given ten days to produce results. He had over-rated his bargaining ability

and made no progress. Dr. Lyte, who had ample confidence in his own ability in practical matters as well as in the theory of education, joined Jacob M. Frantz in the attempt to secure the much-needed lot, but the two determined men did not succeed within the time limit of ten days. With matchless tenacity Jacob M. Frantz stuck to the task he had set for himself and finally emerged victorious with the lot purchased at $2,500. For all the troubles and six months' delay, they had saved only $200.

Mr. Warner was slow in preparing the plans for the library and did not always meet deadlines set by the Committee. It was not until the twentieth of January (1892) that the plans and specifications were finally approved. The first set of plans for the library provided only for the shell or "carcass," as the Trustees designated it. The laying of the floors, the plastering, and the installation of the indoor trim and the shelving were to be let on separate bids.

It was the intent of the Executive Committee to let the contracts for both the library and science buildings at the same time. After being diverted for a brief time by the attempt to make the attic, known as Olympia Hall, more presentable to the ladies who did not like the hot summers and cold winters under the slate roof and by the visit of General Hastings, the future governor, the Executive Committee went back to work on the science building and finally approved the detailed plans on February 15, 1892. Mr. Warfel moved that the contracts to be let should be fulfilled by October 1, 1892. This optimistic hope, as we shall see, was not to be realized.

Seven bids, ranging from $45,533 to $51,700, were received on both the science building and the library early in March, 1892. The contract for the construction of the two buildings was awarded to D. H. Rapp at the amount of $45,533. The Board of Trustees instructed the Executive Committee to proceed with "dispatch." By March 26, 1892, the Committee had fixed the location of the library building on the Smith lot, which was pock-marked with deep depressions resulting from the brickmaking activities of former years. The elevation of the first floor was fixed at precisely twenty-five inches below the level of the toll road. Building operations were begun with "dispatch" and by June construction was well advanced.

The Trustees were in complete harmony with the period of prosperity and expansion throughout the country that preceded the financial panic of 1893. The prospects for a large summer session were good and large enrollments spelled prosperity. It was quite natural that planning should be on a large scale. Early in March (1892) the installation of an electric light plant, the construction of a model school building, and the enlargement of the main buildings were discussed. The reading room was united with the dining room by tearing out the cupboards that separated the two. What was then

the reference room or general reading room is now part of the dining room lobby. In view of the expectation that the school would soon have reading room facilities in the library building, it was considered advisable to increase dining room facilities to accommodate the largest summer enrollment in the history of the school.

Before work on the library building had hardly gotten under way, the Executive Committee, with Andrew M. Frantz as chairman, met "to further the project of a very much needed model school building." The chairman and Dr. Lyte were authorized to employ Mr. Warner as the architect for the new model school building, which was to be scheduled for the "near future." Dr. Lyte, as usual, was ready with a plan "to give the committee an idea of what is required at Millersville." At this same Executive Committee meeting another annex to the Ladies' Building and the construction of a mansard roof were considered and recommended to the Board two days later. These two projects were unanimously approved by the Board of Trustees and the Committee was "authorized and directed" to proceed with the plans and construction. To pay for the additions, the Finance Committee was authorized to borrow upon the treasurer's note any amount of money necessary to "erect and furnish the contemplated addition." A week after the additions were authorized, Dr. Lyte was ready with a plan for the annex to the Ladies' Building which was to extend sixty-five feet west from the north wing, which was a previous annex in 1868. The plan was adopted. This new annex was typical of the architecture of the main buildings, which was a hodge-podge of additions, annexes, improvements, and alterations. Not only were the buildings to be expanded, but also the laundry facilities for the increased enrollment. Two additional fifty horse power boilers at a cost of $1,335 each were authorized to provide the steam for the expanding physical plants.

Other improvements were made in the spring of 1892, of which only a few can be mentioned. With 901 students (the largest enrollment in the history of the school) crowded into a relatively limited space, the Reed property, recently purchased from the president of the Board, was set aside as a sanatarium for students with contagious diseases. Typhoid, diptheria, and other contagious diseases were sufficiently prevalent to warrant the action taken. Also, the time had come when mowing the grass with a scythe or letting the cows graze on the grounds were no longer suitable, and to do a more satisfactory job of keeping the grass short, a one horse lawn mower was purchased by the steward.

In the first half of 1892 the Trustees did not experience much difficulty, but on June 20, 1892, a letter from D. H. Rapp to the Executive Committee condemned "the work of Mr. Warner, architect, in planning the new buildings now under erection. Stating the defects in detail and charging him of being derelict in his duties in superin-

tending said buildings." The Committee in a spirit of fairness refused to take any action without the presence of both Rapp and Warner. Two days later, in the presence of both the contractor and the architect, Mr. Rapp's letter was read again. Also a letter from the chief engineer of the Phoenix Iron Company, stating that the science building was not strong enough to bear the weight of the proposed iron tower safely, was read. The charges were answered by Mr. Warner one by one. Mr. Warner admitted two errors in connection with the library and agreed to pay for the necessary corrections.

Mr. Warner had considerably more difficulty with the charges concerning the science building. In regard to a girder resting near a flue, the architect suggested that the flue be detoured around the girder at a safer distance to prevent fire. Mr. Rapp insisted that the west wall was not of sufficient strength, while the architect insisted equally strongly that the wall was of sufficient strength and that he would take the responsibility for any damages. Two other charges were not so easily disposed of and Mr. Warner frankly admitted, in the face of strong evidence, that he could not guarantee the strength of the tower because he was not sufficiently acquainted with the matter. As the minutes objectively state one detail, "In regard to ends of girders running into window openings without support, Mr. Warner states that he will correct that to the satisfaction of the committee." The Committee was eminently fair in its investigation and even had Mr. Warner read and approve the minutes that were recorded.

Mr. Warner had amply demonstrated his carelessness or incompetence or possibly both, but the Committee apparently had not completely lost faith in him. Five days later he came back to the Committee with the suggestion that the substitution of twelve-inch steel beams instead of nine-inch beams would be sufficient for five times the strain that would be put upon the base of the tower. He was also given the job of estimating the cost of the proposed Ladies' Building annex, and presented the sketch of the annex in the following month. However, the Trustees were so busy with the problem of what to do with the defective science building that they decided to postpone action on the annex.

Late in August, 1892, the Committee decided to start in earnest on the Ladies' annex and Mr. Warner, in spite of repeated delays in other matters, was to be instructed by Dr. Lyte to have a plan for the next meeting. Again the plans were not ready when requested, and the Committee waited patiently. Two bids were finally received early in October, one by J. A. Burger for $13,974 and the other by D. H. Rapp for $13,715. The Board considered the bids too high and directed the Executive Committee to have the plans redrawn to reduce costs and then to award the contract without further reference to the Board. The second bids were more in line with the amount of money the Trustees wished to expend for dormitory facilities. D. H. Rapp was

the successful bidder at $8,774. It was soon discovered that the attempt to lower the cost drastically had resulted in an inferior building design. No provision had been made for basement windows and other defects became obvious. To see that all of the necessary corrections were properly made, Christian Eiseman, the steward, was given full power to superintend the erection of the annex.

The severe weather of January, 1893, emphasized the need for further changes to protect the top floor against the penetrating cold. Originally the plans called for rough boarding over the three-inch by four-inch studding with the shingles nailed directly to the rough boarding and the lathing and plastering attached directly to the inside of the studs. The new plans called for the rough boarding to be covered with a heavy tar felt before the shingles and slate were applied. Matched boards were to be applied to the inside of the studding and rafters. On the matched boards were applied two-inch strips to which were attached the laths and plastering. The eighteen-hour record snow storm that followed in February halted all turnpike and electric trolley traffic between Millersville and Lancaster and further emphasized the wisdom of the decision to provide better insulation on the top floor. Drifting snow again isolated Millersville on March fourth and delayed work on the annex.

Unfavorable weather had hindered construction work to the point where extraordinary efforts were necessary to complete the annex in time for the spring session on March 27. The Trustees estimated that as much as $7,000 of gross revenue might be lost if the fifty additional rooms were not ready by the opening session. Therefore, the contractor was informed by Andrew M. Frantz to employ as large a labor force as possible in order to complete the rooms by the deadline of March 27. The Trustees agreed to pay all extra expenses involved in view of the inefficiency of a larger labor force. The brickwork had been completed and the rafters were in place when the first snowstorm struck. The augmented construction crew went to work with increased vigor and a week before the opening of the spring session the Committee "examined the building personally and were much gratified" with the results. Dr. Lyte and his associates had planned correctly, the applications being more numerous by fifty or sixty than the previous year. By April 8, 1893, when the new session had gotten under way, every room was filled to capacity and even the attic rooms in what was designated as Olympia Hall were filled. In order to accomplish the latter, it was necessary to pipe standpipe water to the floor and to install waste bowls.

The original contract cost of the Ladies' Annex was to be $8,774, but there were so many changes in the plans and specifications that a new arrangement was entered into between the Committee and Mr. Rapp. Under the new arrangement, Mr. Rapp was to keep an accurate account of all monies spent in the construction of the addition

under the general supervision of the steward and was to be paid five per cent on the total expenditures of $10,549.41, on which amount he received a commission of $527.47 for his work on the five-story (including the floor under the Mansard roof) brick-walled annex.

COMPLETION OF THE LIBRARY AND SCIENCE BUILDINGS

Even after the open break between Mr. Rapp and Mr. Warner in June of 1892, work on the Library building was continued. The financial picture was very satisfactory. On August 6, 1892, the Normal School received from the State a total of $26,945. In addition to that, Dr. Lyte reported that more money was collected from students in the school year just closed than in any previous year since the founding of the school. The Trustees, no doubt, considered that Dr. Lyte shared some responsibility for the general prosperity and raised his salary from $2,000 to $2,500 and a home.

By October of 1892 the "carcass" of the Library had reached the stage where prompt thought had to be given to the interior plans and specifications. The Executive Committee was given instructions by the Trustees to complete the Library Building at once and, accordingly, was given authority to have specifications prepared and to award all necessary contracts without further reference to the Board "unless they wished of their own will to refer the matter to the Board." A week later the Committee instructed Mr. Warner to prepare the interior plans for the Library with the assistance of Dr. Lyte, whose judgment was valued by the Trustees. After securing further ideas of library mechanics at Drexel Institute, Dr. Lyte promised to communicate with Mr. Warner and to urge him to complete the interior plans for the Library as soon as possible. By the middle of January, 1893, Mr. Warner still had no plans for the interior of the Library. One cause for the incessant delay was the preoccupation with the defective Science Building, on which work had been suspended a few days after Christmas. Without waiting for the architect, the Committee decided that the "interior should be finished in hard oak, with quarter-sawed Georgia pine for floors, and regular instead of adamant plastering with rough sand finish."

After four months Warner finally presented a plan for the interior of the Library which was handed to Dr. Lyte for careful study. The usual delays followed. The Executive Committee had a good many irons in the fire at the same time. They were concerned with the completion of the Ladies' Annex before the start of the 1893 summer session. Before they had an opportunity to give serious thought to the Library interior, the new project of raising the roof of the Ladies' Building was undertaken with more haste than good judgment. After another delay of three months, Dr. Lyte and Mr. Rapp were directed to prepare an estimate of cost for completing the Library. Their estimate of the cost of the Library interior was $10,503.

Apparently Mr. Rapp was not satisfied with the Library plans as finally drawn. He conducted the Committee through the building making explanations as he went, after which the Committee voted unanimously to have the builder draw up a set of plans to complete the Library. These plans called for an expenditure of approximately $6,500 to $7,000 and were to be submitted to Dr. Lyte for approval, after which bids would be invited if the "Doctor" approved. The Committee authorized Dr. Lyte to consult with a competent architect if advisable. This he proceeded to do in company with Mr. Rapp. Mr. Welsh, a Philadelphia architect, approved of Mr. Rapp's plans and was authorized to proceed with detailed drawings.

By this time Mr. Warner had finally lost the confidence of the Executive Committee and when he, in spite of all his blunders, presented a bill of $807.08 the Committee decided unanimously to have Chairman Andrew M. Frantz and Dr. Lyte make a "more reasonable settlement."

In the meantime a little work was done on the Library. The scaffolding had been erected and the lathing done when it was decided (September 6, 1893) to suspend all work on the Library until Mr. Welsh, the new architect, could complete all the plans. Work was likewise again suspended on the Science Building. By November 20, 1893, the new architect had completed the plans for both the Science and the Library Buildings. Without haste, bids were invited and contracts awarded for the completion of the Library. On January 17, 1894, the millwork contract was awarded at a figure of $3,380. Strangely enough other bids on the same plans ran as high as $8,609.36. A plastering contract was awarded to William Lutz for $324, but before the plastering could be done it was necessary for Mr. Rapp to intercede in vigorous disputes that arose between Lutz and his partner.

John Graybill of York successfully bid $167 on the electric wiring of the Library. No concern seemed to be expressed by the Executive Committee over the wide difference between the low bid of $167 and the high bid of $851.60 on the same wiring project. Perhaps it was just as well that the extremely low-priced bid was accepted. Twenty-seven years later Miss Helen Ganser, the librarian, reported that it was necessary to close the Library when it would be most used by the students for want of electric lighting. Shortly thereafter, the Model School and the Library were equipped with electric lights.

The work on the Library and other projects proceeded very slowly and by a piecemeal and unorganized method. Neither the Board of Trustees nor the Executive Committee had learned to centralize responsibility for a project in the hands of one or two competent persons. There was in reality no business manager, nor were there consistent procedures in the handling of bids, the awarding of contracts, and the supervision of the work in hand. The members of the Executive Committee, instead of confining themselves to policy-making

in connection with the completion of the Library and other building projects and large school interests, were busy with a multitude of administrative jobs, some of them quite minor in character. Chairman Frantz was authorized to employ laborers to open the gutter along the west side of the turnpike. Dr. P. W. Hiestand was authorized to dispose of the "slops and offals from the kitchen to the best advantage without keeping pigs on the grounds," the penetrating odor of the pig sty being somewhat objectionable. Emmanuel Herr offered $100 on daily removal. Too many people were responsible for too many jobs.

It would seem that the delay in completing the Library was to some extent a matter of poor organization. It was not a lack of self-sacrificing work and application on the part of the committee members or the Board. They were for the most part conscientious men who believed that every detail of the work needed their personal knowledge and attention. Neither was the delay caused by a lack of financial support. In addition to $50,000 appropriated for the Science and Library Buildings in 1891 and the regular annual appropriations of $7,500 (raised to $10,000 in 1893), the Legislature late in the session of 1893 appropriated $30,000 more for the completion of the Library and the Science Buildings, apparently without inquiring into how efficiently the previous appropriation was utilized.

Two and a half years after the Library was begun, Mr. Rapp estimated that about $3,400 worth of work needed to be done to complete the structure. This estimate proved to be too low by more than $2,000. The Executive Committee began to grow impatient with the slow progress toward the completion goal, which they hoped could be reached by the time of the Fortieth Anniversary of the founding of the school on April 17, 1895. Andrew M. Frantz, Chairman, and H. M. Mayer, Secretary of the Committee, personally went to York (December, 1894) to hurry up the special mill work.

In order to prepare for the anniversary opening of the Library, Andrew M. Frantz was instructed by his Committee to take charge of the grounds improvement plan prepared by a professional landscape artist from Pittsburgh. On this project, as in practically all of the projects, Dr. Lyte had submitted his plan which, as was usual, was regarded with respect and incorporated into the professional plan. The Library was surrounded by the old brickyard grounds which were dotted with deep clay pits. Since considerable fill was needed to the west of the main buildings and around the Science and Library Buildings, it was decided to dig a lake and use the ground for that purpose. The cost of constructing the lake at fourteen cents per cubic yard and grading the grounds about the Library was $675.

Even though a serious effort had been made to complete the Library in time for the Fortieth Anniversary, it was not until the fall of 1895 that the Normal and Page Literary Societies had moved their libraries into the two wings, the central portion being occupied by

the general reference library of the school. Included in the general library were the personal books of the first Principal, Dr. James P. Wickersham. A considerable number of valuable books in his extensive personal library were recently discarded and sold as scrap paper on the basis that they were obsolete.

The Libraries were placed in charge of Miss Harriet L. McCrory, a graduate of the Pratt Institute Library School, and Miss Elizabeth Mercer, also a graduate of Pratt Institute, as assistant librarian. Both teachers were considered to be efficient librarians.

Even though the Library admittedly was one of the most beautiful connected with any state normal school in Pennsylvania and superior to many college buildings, it was not the most serviceable building that could have been constructed for the money expended upon it. It was internally and externally constructed with beauty as the foremost consideration rather than utility. The tower served a minimum of practical use as did also the balconies in the wings. The large external chimneys served only as architectural embellishments. There was an almost complete lack of office and workroom space with hardly any convenient area that could be converted to such use. The Evaluating Committee in 1950 said that, "The Library is . . . an overly ornate structure inside and out. There is much waste space on the interior due to the ornamental woodwork." The basement is too deep in the ground on the east side and consequently too damp for library use. Many of the old books stored there are mildewed and will soon be unfit for further use.

The very active Executive Committee had a number of major activities in progress at the same time in the summer of 1892. Both the Library and Science Buildings were in the process of construction. The Ladies' Annex, an electric power plant, a model school, and many lesser projects were under consideration. Of these projects the library and the Annex have already been discussed. It remains for us now to complete the story of the Science Building and to refer briefly to the vascillating policy on the introduction of electric lighting before the period of expansion was halted by the accumulating effects of the panic which were most directly expressed in the Governor's veto of the student aid appropriations in the summer of 1895. The increase in the enrollment from 648 in the first panic year of 1893-1894 to over 700 in 1894-1895 had a tendency to bolster the false optimism, which was abruptly terminated by the veto already referred to.

The major portion of the muddling activity in the construction of the Science Building falls into this period. Delays were frequent and sometimes were due to poor organization and a persistent frugality that at times defeated its own purpose. In the case of the Science Building, the Executive Committee demonstrated that a low-paid architect is often the most expensive. Mr. Warner had been hired "at the lowest rate possible," (two and one half per cent on the cost

of construction) and the Trustees in the end paid thousands of dollars to correct the mistakes that arose from unwise frugality. Sometimes the frugality led only to a waste of time and effort.

Human beings are sometimes a little contradictory in their actions. In the case of most of the Trustees it was quite common to find them expending time and effort to save a relatively modest sum and, on the contrary, spending thousands of dollars to build useless towers, turrets, chimneys, and other architectural embellishments that in a number of cases defeated the principles of educational utility.

The muddling through process will be traced in sufficient detail to yield a clear picture of the administration of affairs. Since the architect's embarrassed admission in June of 1892, that the Science Building was defective, not much had been done beyond the suggestion that twelve-inch supporting beams be substituted for the nine-inch beams called for in the plans. Apparently several months later, he was not quite so certain of his easy solution for the correction of a basically faulty design. In October of 1892 the Committee, in the presence of Rapp and the architect, viewed the defective tower and unanimously agreed to substitute a solid brick wall for the steel beams to support the tower. When the plans and specifications were received for the repair of the tower base, Mr. Rapp "denounced the plans as entirely insufficient for the safety of the tower." The architect had suggested the estimated cost as $265, which expense he would assume, being admittedly at fault. Mr. Rapp refused to bid on the plans and made a counter suggestion that he would tear down the brickwork as far as necessary and rebuild the base and tower for $2,290 or he would superintend the work by the day with Mr. Eiseman as time keeper. After several minute inspections and much discussion, the Committee pronounced the tower "very defective." They agreed with Rapp that it was necessary to tear down much of the tower and rebuild it without the steel beams specified by the architect. Rapp was to make up an itemized statement of materials needed and report at the next meeting. The report was considered and in all due respect to Rapp, who appeared to be a trustworthy and competent builder, it was decided to secure the services of Architect Will H. Decker of Philadelphia.

After a thorough examination of the Science Building for a fee of $200 (as contrasted with a fee of $638.83 for Warner's original work), Mr. Decker informed the Board that he would suggest considerable rebuilding and strengthening of the incomplete building at an estimated cost of approximately $14,160. The original contract price of the building was only $25,533 and was fully covered by a special state appropriation. Decker's letter arrived directly before Christmas. The estimates were distressing. Two days after Christmas the building was boarded up, all operations were suspended, and it was decided to pay Rapp in full to date.

The criticism that the state did not exercise proper safeguards in the appropriation of money was amply demonstrated in this case. There appears to be no evidence that the state exercised any caution in the direction of a professional examination of the plans on which it expended a considerable sum of money. J. P. Wickersham's earlier suggestion of more direct state control over the money appropriated by the Commonwealth to the specific use of the normal schools appears to have had merit.

During the first half of 1893 almost nothing was done on the Science Building. However, there was no dearth of plans for the correction of the defects. Mr. Warner presented a plan, as did Mr. Decker, a Philadelphia architect. Mr. Rapp, the builder, had ideas and plans. Even Mr. H. M. Mayer, the secretary, presented a plan. A fifth set of plans was finally submitted by Mr. Welsh, another architect. The Executive Committee was busy with the completion of the Ladies' Annex, the plans for raising the roofs of the Ladies' Building and the Gentlemen's Building, the consideration of an electric power plant, the raising of the flagpole financed by the Class of 1868, and other improvements, and did virtually nothing on the Science Building.

In July of 1893 the Board of Trustees apparently had reached a decision to employ a reliable and a competent architect without any suggestion of saving money on professional fees. A Mr. Welsh of Philadelphia was employed to prepare plans for the completion of the Library, for the strengthening of the Science Building, and for the roof-raising projects. The plans for the Science Building were ready by November 13, 1893. Mr. Rapp was to do the work on a commission basis under the direction of Mr. Welsh. Mr. Welsh charged $3,000 for his work on the completion of the Library and Science Buildings and the improvements of the main buildings. There was no protest. Apparently the Board finally realized that competent men are often expensive.

When the warm weather approached in 1894, Mr. Rapp was directed "to begin work on the Science Building forthwith and push to completion as speedily as possible." He estimated that the cost of completing the building according to the architect's plans and specifications would amount to $17,230. In spite of the high cost, he was again directed to go on with the work "and to economize as much as possible without diminishing the strength of the building in any way." Progress was moderate.

In spite of the depression, Mr. Rapp, during the vacation period of 1894, had fifty-three men employed on the various projects. In fact, there was such a heavy drain on the revenues that all available money was expended, including the direct appropriation of $10,000 received from the State before August 4, leaving the Treasurer, J. W. Lansinger, with a "Due Treasurer" statement of $348.92. A resolution of which

the Treasurer had not completely availed himself stated, "That the Treasurer with the approval of the Finance Committee shall be authorized to borrow such money at such times and in such amounts as may be reported necessary by the Executive Committee." Sometimes the amount due the Treasurer ran as high as $2,900. However, bank loans without collateral were readily available and such shortages were easily and promptly covered.

After the balance of $7,882.41 due on the Science Building from the special legislative appropriation of 1893 had been received on October 6, 1894, the Executive Committee decided to finish only such parts of the Science Building "as are essentially necessary." These parts were the chemistry and manual training rooms. The emphasis had been shifted to the completion of the Library by the summer of 1895 and the completion of the roof-raising projects so as to furnish more dormitory rooms. The Science Building received relatively less attention. The projects under way were quite extensive for a period of economic depression.

It is entirely possible that the Trustees remembered the completion of the Chapel and Administration building in a previous depression period and, therefore, were not as much alarmed as they might otherwise have been. The Millersville Trustees were not alarmed but neither were they at ease. They had entertained a committee of the Legislature with the knowledge that friends in the Legislature are always an asset. The large summer attendance had a tendency to dispel fears about appropriations. Dr. Schaeffer's letter concerning deficiencies in the appropriations to students, however, offset the optimism generated by a superb attendance. Without being unexpected the evil day arrived on July 6, 1895, when a messenger brought to the assembled Trustees the distressing news that the Governor had vetoed the student-aid appropriations.

The financial situation in the summer of 1895 was the worst in many years but it was not alarming. Borrowing from the banks continued at a steady pace and the indebtedness increased to over $40,000. All progress on the Science Building ceased, only the manual training room and part of the chemistry department having been completed, apparently because they were specifically mentioned in the special appropriation act of 1893. The Executive Committee practically ceased to function, for there were few projects that could not be handled by the regular organization.

In February of 1896 a special committee to save expenses was appointed "to examine into and report the practicability of saving expenses in any of the departments of the institution." Jacob M. Frantz, who was known among his colleagues for his "natural traits of economy and thrift," was appointed chairman and was assisted by two other Trustees with a similar point of view.

It was not until the summer of 1897 that the Executive Committee again became active and unanimously recommended to the Board of Trustees that the Science Building be completed. This was in time done as recommended.

OTHER EXPANSION PROJECTS

In addition to the erection of the Gymnasium, the Boiler House, the Ladies Annex, the Library, and the Science Building, the improvement of the grounds, and the building of the lake, the Executive Committee was busy in this same period of time with a number of other projects.

The first bathroom within the building was erected for the use of Dr. Lyte in August of 1890. Other bathing and water closet facilities for students and faculty were still located outside the main dormitory buildings. Telephone service had been introduced in the late 1880's but with the new electric trolley service that early in the 1890's replaced the horse cars of the earlier period came poorer telephone service. In spite of the unsatisfactory service the school was proud of its telephone and regularly mentioned it in the catalogs.

Fresh water pipes and waste hoppers were placed on each floor (not each room) of the Ladies' Building in 1892 and a little later similar installations were made on the gentlemen's side. Christian Eiseman directed the installation.

Because of the heavy enrollment of this period, the dining room was twice enlarged. The first extension in 1892 was agreed upon unanimously by the Board after "viewing the premises," and consisted of tearing out the cupboards that separated the east side of the dining room from the west side of the reading room. In the fall of 1893, after another large summer enrollment of 948, Mr. Eiseman was directed "to Superintend the conversion of the first floor communicating with the dining room into a dining room annex." This addition was carved out of the original chapel of 1855 and 1859 and remains today as the annex extending to the south from the main dining hall. The trap door leading to the old dining room in the cellar is still intact but no longer used, the use of the cellar for dining purposes having been discontinued in 1875.

Much time and energy were expended on the project of lighting the buildings by means of electricity instead of coal oil lamps. The usual trips to inspect other plants were made. Drexel Institute was visited for this and other purposes a number of times. Dr. Lyte seemed to have a great deal of respect for the school and for its president. After the usual preliminary studies, Dr. Lyte was instructed in January of 1894 to furnish specifications for an electric light plant and wiring and to instruct bidders to hand the bids to Andrew M. Frantz. Only one bid was received. On the same day that the bid was considered the superintendent of the Harrisburg Electric Lighting Company, in

answer to numerous questions by the Committee, gave it a full measure of good advice when he suggested that they employ a "competent electrical engineer" to advise them and to prepare plans and specifications. Dr. Lyte and a number of the Trustees usually had more faith in their ability to cope with highly technical problems than most administrators would display today. The good advice, gratuitously given, was followed and Dr. Drysdale, an electrical engineer from Philadelphia, was employed as a technical adviser. Dr. Drysdale did not give the Committee any hope that the bids would be as low as the bid of $13,750 received on the amateur plans of Dr. Lyte. The Committee expected to consider the expenditure of considerably more money than was indicated by the first bid, but the Committee did not appear to be ready to consider sums ranging from $28,839 to $40,554. Action on the new bids was unanimously postponed.

The attention of the Executive Committee shifted from installing its own electric light plant to buying power from a company already in the business. Before any action could be taken in the direction of buying power, the Committee proceeded to award a wiring contract to Stern and Silverman of Philadelphia for $9,352, that sum being within the $10,000 special appropriation made by the Legislature in 1893 for electric lighting. The chairman and secretary of the Executive Committee were making efforts to secure electric power in time to make the necessary connection when Stern and Silverman completed the wiring in the fall of 1894. Ample electric power was available but not at the rates that the Trustees would pay. In October Dr. Drysdale instructed the contractors to leave off the fixtures since "there was no current and no knowledge when there would be." Some of the metal rods and tubes to which the fixtures were to be attached when electricity became available were, in the course of time, dismantled by mischievous students who used them as pea shooters. When electricity finally became available in 1907 at a rate that the Trustees were willing to pay, the wires did not pass inspection, were removed, and sold as scrap copper.

During the 1890-1895 expansion the winter session student body steadily rose from 312 to 703 and the summer student population rose from 514 to 1,010. Dr. Lyte incessantly talked about the increasing number of students and the general prosperity of the school, while at the same time deprecating the measurement of progress by the yardstick of mere numbers. The method of subsidizing students by granting a weekly allowance to every student over seventeen years of age, intending to teach, and otherwise meeting the requirements of law, was a factor in increasing enrollments.

The Ladies' Annex with its fifty additional rooms accommodating one hundred students did not suffice to house all the students in the Normal School. When the new Annex was constructed, a colonial

type of roof was part of the plan and provided ample space for practically a full fifth story. On May 6, 1893, Andrew M. Frantz and his Committee were given precise instructions to "proceed without delay" in the construction of a mansard roof on the older parts of the Ladies' Building to correspond with the roof of the Annex in order to provide more dormitory rooms. Mr. Warner, who had previously demonstrated his carelessness, was to draw a sketch of the outside appearance of the proposed roof. Mr. Rapp, the builder of the Gymnasium, the Science Building, the Library, and the Ladies' Annex, was to be employed by the day as builder and superintendent. The Committee was to take bids on millwork, plastering, and other parts of the total project.

Before the end of May (1893) detailed drawings were considered and tentatively approved. Dr. Lyte and Mr. Rapp were instructed to study the plans and present estimates. Estimates on three plans ranged from $11,000 to $20,000. Again the same general pattern of cutting down expenses was followed. The estimates being too high, Mr. Rapp on motion of Dr. Lyte was instructed to draw a set of plans. By this time it was also decided to raise the roof of the Steward's Building (the section now occupied by the boys' bathrooms) to furnish additional rooms so that a number of the hired hands would not have to sleep on cots in the laundry. Rapp's plans were apparently used as a guide, but not as actual working drawings. Architect Warner, after another delay, was released and Architect Welsh was employed to complete the Science Building and the Library and to draw the plans and specifications for raising the roofs on the Ladies' Building and the Steward's Building. The roof-raising project was estimated to cost $8,000 to $9,000 and, as was agreed upon previously, Mr. Rapp was to superintend the work on a commission of ten per cent. The Executive Committee seemed to prefer this arrangement. It gave its members a more direct and a more minute contact with the job. The work proceeded at a reasonable pace, the whole job being ready for plastering in less than three months.

Steam heating pipes were installed on the top floors. Steam heating had also been introduced into the classrooms previously. The remainder of the main buildings was still heated by about thirty hot air furnaces. Steam heating for the whole set of connected buildings was still almost fifteen years distant.

In the spring of 1894, the raising of the roof of the Gentlemen's Building was begun. It is difficult to understand why the Trustees decided to add additional stories to buildings that were not designed for such alterations. It might be said that it was common practice to construct multiple story buildings. Furthermore, the Trustees needed more space to accommodate the students who otherwise were required to take rooms in the village. Boarding in the village was not considered desirable because it did not give the faculty the complete

control over the students that was considered necessary. A further reason for building an additional story apparently was the matter of lower cost per room. However, the disadvantages were quite as numerous. The buildings were not constructed with such additions of weight and traffic in mind. This was particularly true of the Gentlemen's Building which originally was a three-story brick structure with a plain inverted V slate roof. In 1875 a fourth story was added with the same type of roof. And now practically a fifth full story was to be added. Signs of structural weakness were noticeable later. Another factor of unusual significance was the increased fire hazard. Several minor fires had already occurred. At that time there were no fireproof stairways, and fire escapes were not always in easy reach of all students.

The two five-story dormitories were linked together by means of the Chapel Building. A fire starting in one building could very easily spread to the others and in one blow destroy the entire main plant. The buildings even with fireproof stairways recently added, still stand condemned by the state as fire traps. To still further increase the fire hazard, the central tower of the Chapel Building was raised from five to seven stories in 1895. The additional height of the tower, plus the medieval turrets constructed on each corner of the buildings facing east, added considerable cost in original construction and maintenance and, in the opinion of some people, added nothing to the architectural beauty of the buildings.

Even though the erection of the fifth floor on the Gentlemen's Building had slowed down somewhat, the work was completed before the opening of the spring session of 1895 and by contrast with the construction of the Science Building, which required five years to complete, might be said to have been completed in good time. The total roof-raising project added fifty-nine rooms, making a total of 414 in the main buildings.

THE NEW MODEL SCHOOL AND OTHER PROJECTS
1899-1902

The full impact of the panic was not felt by Millersville until the summer of 1895 when state support was temporarily suspended, not to be renewed until the spring of the following year. Two lean years followed with a declining enrollment and a declining income. The Executive Committee practically ceased to function and very little money was expended on the physical plant except for necessary maintenance. Jacob M. Frantz and his Committee on Saving Expenses applied themselves vigorously to their task. At the same time the Trustees explored every avenue that might possibly lead to more revenue. Dr. Lyte and other principals became interested in federal land grants to normal schools, but that avenue did not lead to a new source of revenue. Dr. Lyte also explored the possibility that John

Wanamaker, the wealthy Philadelphia merchant, might feel charitably inclined toward the normal schools of the state. The principal reported that "The scope of the gifts comprehends $10,000 direct to each normal school and an endowment fund of $230,000 . . . " for all the schools. This prospect also did not materialize.

The most practical plan was to redouble the efforts that had continued over a period of years to increase the enrollment. Dr. Lyte and his immediate successors regularly urged the faculty to seek new students, the practice continuing right down to the period of state ownership in 1917 and even beyond. In this canvassing for students, the faculty was instructed not to "run down another school, but tell the advantages of ours." Some of the other schools were not as ethical in the search for candidates. Alumni and old friends of the school were urged to encourage students to come to Millersville.

Before the end of 1897 a fair degree of confidence had been regained. The "false economy" of the Legislature had been partially abandoned and the Trustees took up their plans where they had left off in 1895. They briefly considered the problem of electric lighting, but could not secure current for the $1,000 per year that had been decided upon. The Trustees dropped the matter for the time being and thus permitted their $10,000 investment in electric wiring to remain totally unused. A year later (1898) an annex to the office was constructed on brick columns at a cost of about $700. The annex is used today as the private office of President Biemesderfer and is popularly referred to by the students as the President's "gold fish bowl."

The Trustees now turned their attention to a new Model School Building for which plans were furnished by Mr. Rapp. Dr. Lyte had previously sketched a plan. The proposed building was estimated to cost $29,368. The plan was satisfactory to the Committee but the cost was "deemed entirely too high." Mr. Rapp was instructed to aim for $20,000 but could not reduce the estimate below $27,300 even with a "readjustment of the plans." To decrease the cost of construction the size was reduced from 71 x 153 feet to 69 x 122 feet. This very general plan was approved by the Board of Trustees early in February of 1898. Nothing further was done until June of 1899, when J. A. Dempwolf, an architect living in York, was invited to appear before the Committee to discuss plans and specifications at the expense of the school. After conferring with the architect, Mr. Andrew M. Frantz, Chairman of the Executive Committee, presented a full program of specifications designed to decrease costs, resulting in smaller rooms, narrower halls, and other changes that would cut the total length to 112 feet and the total width to 60 feet.

When Dempwolf was finally employed by Jacob M. Frantz in the name of the Committee, his compensation was fixed at three and one half per cent of the cost without superintending or five per cent of

the cost with superintending. The latter plan was decided upon. It is to be noted that the rate of compensation was exactly twice the rate paid for the Library and Science Biuldings, but with considerably better results. Plans and specifications were prepared in the fall of 1899 and the contract was awarded November 15, 1899, to D. H. Rapp on a low bid of $24,975. The highest bid was $29,988. Mr. Rapp placed a low bid of $5,000 on the revised plans for the heating system, but the Trustees declined to accept the bid as too high. Mr. Rapp was saved from loss of the heating contract by being permitted to substitute equivalent equipment and to substitute a new bid of $156 less than the original. The $156 reduction satisfied the bargaining instinct of Jacob M. Frantz and the majority of the committee, but Dr. Hiestand was still not satisfied. This was one of the few times when a vote was split, unanimous decisions being commonplace.

The two-story brick building, trimmed with Indiana limestone, provided sufficient room for the needs of the Normal School. The plans provided for six large rooms in the basement, which was largely above ground—a kindergarten, two play rooms or gymnasiums, a laboratory, a manual training room, and a general purpose room. The first and second floors were laid out in twenty rooms of sufficient size to accommodate a section of twenty pupils or half a grade. The Trustees considered the construction of the rooms in sets of two, separated by folding partitions, as a novel feature and extolled the virtues of the plan by which the two sections of a grade could be thrown together for literary or other purposes. It was the special construction and suspending of the accordian-like partitions that held up the completion of the building.

The total cost of the Model School Building, located on the lots originally bought privately for the school by George Reed and Principal Brooks, was slightly in excess of $36,000. The Building is still used today by the College Junior High School. It was substantially built, and, even though outmoded, is still a structurally sound building after fifty years of service.

A new Household Building, designed by Christian Eiseman and D. H. Rapp, was erected in the session of 1901-1902 under the general supervision of Andrew M. Frantz, Chairman of the Executive Committee. The building cost in excess of $20,000. It was attached directly to the west end of the Gentlemen's Building, creating a greater potential fire hazard to the whole main plant than had existed before.

The construction of the Household Building involved considerably larger expenditures than could be met out of current revenues and therefore it was deemed necessary by the Executive Committee, still headed by Andrew M. Frantz, to recommend to the Board of Trustees a bond issue of $40,000 in order to set the financial house in order. The bond issue was approved by the Board of Trustees on December

7, 1901, and was considered by State Superintendent Nathan C. Schaeffer to be in agreement with a law of May 22, 1901. A satisfactory testimonial to the credit of the institution is the fact that by January 1, 1902, $21,000 was realized from the sale of bonds bearing the low interest rate of four and one half per cent. These bonds were redeemable at par at any time from five to twenty years after the date of issue and were secured by a mortgage on the property and additional insurance. The only other liens against the property were held by the state of Pennsylvania.

RENOVATION OF THE ORIGINAL STRUCTURES

After more than thirteen years of faithful labor during the greatest period of expansion in the history of the Millersville State Normal School, the Executive Committee ceased to function. When another period of activity began in 1906, a Building Committee with Dr. A. B. Bausman, a Millersville veterinarian, as chairman served the same purpose but was not as representative as the Executive Committee. E. O. Lyte, Amos H. Mylin, and H. M. Mayer, secretary to both committees, were the only hold-over members. J. W. Lansinger, the nominal business manager and the treasurer of the Board of Trustees, A. F. Frantz, and Dr. A. B. Bausman were new members. The Building Committee set itself the task of constructing an outside entrance to the Chapel, constructing a new water closet building for the girls, installing water closets within the building for the boys, and remodeling the recently constructed Household Building so as to provide sleeping rooms for all the workers. Dr. Lyte had already taken the lead to prepare plans for the above improvements and presented the architect's rough plans to the Board of Trustees early in 1905. A special appropriation by the Legislature was contemplated and the plans were drawn mainly for the purpose of being prepared in case the Department of Public Instruction and the Legislature might be sufficiently interested to inquire about estimates.

Nothing specific was achieved in the direction of a special appropriation and after the lapse of more than a year, the Trustees agreed that the work should go on "in the manner pointed out by the Principal." The financial picture was favorable. At the end of April there was a balance of more than $24,000 in the treasury. The bonded indebtedness had in recent years been increased and there was usually a floating indebtedness, but both combined were modest considering the size, credit, and prestige of the institution.

At a meeting of the Building Committee late in June of 1906 it was decided, on the recommendation of the architect, Paul Davis, to employ D. H. Rapp at ten per cent of the cost in labor and materials for the various projects. It was agreed that Mr. Rapp was "to do the work as efficiently and economically as if it were his own." At the same meeting the superintendent was handed the plans and directed

to go to work at once. Mr. Rapp paid many of the bills for labor and materials as they were presented, and then was reimbursed for his expenditures by the treasurer after the architect and the Building Committee had approved the bills. In some cases Mr. Rapp asked for a $1,000 loan from the treasurer to pay bills promptly. He gave his promissory note for the amount and redeemed the note by presenting properly receipted and approved bills. The Board of Trustees authorized the treasurer to pay all bills that were properly authorized by the Building Committee. This same practice had been followed with the Executive Committee.

The work of enlarging the Household Building was begun immediately. The enlargement was necessary in order to make room for the employees who would have to vacate the several floors in the Steward's Building that would be used for the boys' water closets. By the end of August, 1906, the remodeling of the Household Building, which had been constructed in 1901-1902, had been virtually completed.

At the same time that the Household Building was being rebuilt, the project of erecting stairs and vestibules to the second floor lobbies of the Chapel was begun. Before this time anyone wishing to go to the offices or the Chapel entered either one of the front doors on the right and left of the dining room annex, ascended a spiral stairway to the second floor vestibule from which either office or chapel could be entered. The same spiral stairways continued to the recitation rooms above the chapel and to the Trustees room which before 1895 housed the libraries of the Page and Normal Literary Societies, and now houses the general offices of the Business Manager.

It was the plan of the Building Committee to close up part of the U-shaped spaces between the Gentlemen's Building on the south and the Chapel Building, and the Ladies' Building on the north and the Chapel Building on both the first and second floor levels. Two sets of heavy iron stairways were to be constructed to the enlarged second floor vestibules directly in front of the Chapel entrances, so that convenient access to and exit from the Chapel might be achieved.

Work on the stairways and entrances slowed down but was not stopped by the necessity of replacing roof trusses in the Chapel Building that had decayed to a dangerous degree. It was decided to remove the heavy slate roof and to replace it with "tin". The wooden trusses were to be replaced in part with steel beams. The entire project was completed before the opening of school in September, 1906.

In connection with the iron stairways a sharp difference of opinion occurred between the Finance Committee and the Building Committee. The Finance Committee had audited the accounts connected with the building of the stairways (and other projects) and presented a report to the Board that was critical of Mr. Rapp's handling of the matter under the supervision of the Building Committee. Dr. Bausman took exception to the "reflection" on his Committee. Mr. Rapp had been

grilled at length by the Building Committee, which was satisfied with his business conduct. Dr. Bausman practically admitted a slight irregularity in permitting Mr. Rapp to receive and open large bids, but stated that the procedure had been changed. Small bids had been regularly received and jobs assigned by Mr. Rapp previously. The Finance Committee was invited to sit with the Special Committee but only Dr. Hiestand attended the next meeting. There appears to be no evidence that the Finance Committee corrected its report, as was requested by Dr. Bausman's Committee. Disharmony of this type was comparatively rare. The iron stairs were finally completed during the summer of 1907.

During the summer of 1906, the Building Committee ran into difficulties when it attempted to have new water closets constructed for both the boys and the girls. On August 4, 1906, a contract for the plumbing and heating of the sanitary facilities for both the boys and girls was awarded to Everts and Overdeer on a very low bid of $7,235 for the plumbing and $1,520 for the heating. It was soon discovered that not much progress could be made in the installing of the plumbing on the second and third stories of the Steward's Building where it was planned to construct the boys' facilities. The walls of the building were only nine inches thick and had already given way in several places. Furthermore the floors were not sufficiently rigid to bear the increased weight without extensive rebuilding. In view of these facts the Committee decided on a rather complete rebuilding of the structure.

According to the recommendations of the architect, the north and south walls were to be torn out, leaving the top stories and roof unmolested and supported only by the adjoining buildings. The Committee accepted the plan but postponed action on it. Even though the Trustees had anticipated some activity in February, nothing was done by March (1907), when the Board instructed the Committee to get busy. Some of the delay was due to the architect's failure to prepare plans on time. The attendance was not entirely satisfactory, Dr. Bausman, Dr. Lyte, and Mr. Lansinger sometimes being the only members in regular attendance. This was remedied by requiring a quorum of only three members. Bids were not systematically handled.

In the winter of 1907 Mr. Rapp awarded a $275 contract for the partial dismantling of the Steward's Building and a $225 contract for the dismantling of the girls' old water closet building that stood on the site of the present building. The rubble resulting from the above operations was used for fill near the rear of the buildings, but only after it was determined by first hand observation on the part of the Committee that there was nothing worth salvaging. The Committee planned to have the boys' bath rooms completed during the school year so that full attention could be given during the summer to the girls' building.

An investigating committee of the Legislature visited Millersville in the spring of 1907, thoroughly examined the institution, and expressed itself as pleased with the school and in accord with the request for a special appropriation to bring the buildings up to modern standards. This report plus a substantial balance of $36,515, some of which resulted from bond sales of several years previous, gave the Building Committee a new impetus to complete its task. The Millersville authorities worked vigorously for the special state appropriation that was necessary to the modernization program. Dr. Lyte made a number of trips to Harrisburg. Dr. Schaeffer stood "squarely" for the bill as prepared by the legislative committee. Millersville, however, placed its main reliance in Senator Milton Heidelbaugh, a Trustee and a member of the Building Committee. In their confidence that Senator Heidelbaugh would be successful, the hopes of the Trustees were only partly satisfied. A special appropriation of $48,000 was reduced to $15,000 by Governor Stuart, and even this amount was not actually paid without a determined effort by Millersville.

Shortly after the special appropriation became known (June, 1907), the boys' water closets in the Steward's Building were completed. The "Casino", a separate building to the north of the Household Building, was cheerfully abandoned by the students in favor of the sanitary facilities now directly accessible from the second and third floors of the boys' dormitories. There were now fewer complaints about "water" thrown from the windows.

During the summer of 1907, a separate four-story brick water closet building with all modern sanitary conveniences and with direct access from three floors of the Ladies' Building was constructed for the use of the girls on the site of the old building. In the Science Building, two water closets were erected "to be used in case of emergency." No sanitary facilities were located in the Library until 1952. When the teachers asked for water closets for their exclusive use, a special committee of the Board rejected the request, saying "that the prayers of the petitioners were ill advised and without merit."

Up to this point the State had appropriated considerable sums of money to the normal schools without the degree of supervision that Dr. Wickersham believed should be exercised by the State. Now there seemed to be evidence that the Legislature was taking more notice of how the State appropriations were expended by the state normal schools. It is quite possible that the somewhat increased interest in supervision may have arisen from serious discussions of the need for state ownership and control, first officially mentioned in 1902 at a meeting of the Board of Normal School Principals.

In order to be prepared for future investigating committees that might come to Millersville, it was decided to change the rather informal financial features of the improvement program under control of the Building Committee. All remodeling was still on a basis of ten per

cent on the cost of labor and materials, but after June 27, 1907, all debts incurred on account of the building program were to be paid by the treasurer's check after approval by the committee and an order signed by Dr. Bausman, the chairman. The instructions of the Board were not meticulously followed, although the new procedure was a better business practice.

After a considerable delay the Building Committee was able to get back to the problem of electric lighting. The boys' water closets were completed and the girls' building was nearing completion in August of 1907. Also, the special appropriation of $15,000 that had been secured in June, 1907, in spite of considerable opposition to such appropriations, was still unexpended. Early in August, with several of the projects completed or nearly completed and a special appropriation available, the Building Committee successfully recommended to the Board of Trustees that a first-class engineer be employed, that additional boilers be installed in anticipation of the extension of steam heating in the main buildings, and that an electric lighting plant be installed at once. In the meantime, Senator Heidelbaugh, Amos H. Mylin, and J. W. Lansinger had made a two-day trip to the Kutztown State Normal School, the Norristown Asylum, and the West Chester State Normal School, to study electric lighting. They were much impressed with the lighting facilities at Kutztown. With considerable enthusiasm, the Building Committee decided to wire the Ladies' Building before the opening of school in 1907, but when it was discovered that the unusual haste would cost about a thousand dollars more than a contract for more leisurely work, the plan was forthwith abandoned. Instead, it was decided to wire first the Chapel, dining room, offices, toilet buildings, laundry, gymnasium, and grounds, and to permit the work to be done without haste. The bid of the Lancaster Electric Supply Company for wiring was accepted and a contract awarded for $8,680.

After almost innumerable conferences, discussions, and visitations since 1893 on the matter of installing an electric light plant to generate current, the idea was finally abandoned and the Building Committee decided to call for bids for electric power from the Edison Electric Light Company, the Lancaster Light, Heat, and Power Company, the Strassburg Electric Light Company, and the Colemanville Power and Water Company. A contract was awarded to the Edison Company for electric power.

Before the work of wiring could begin, it was necessary to remove the copper wires that had been installed in 1893 at a cost of nearly $10,000 and never used.

The old fixtures purchased in 1893 were dug out of storage for use with the new wiring. It was found necessary to import several workmen from Philadelphia, who were familiar with the old fixtures, to sort out the jumble of fixture parts and to assemble them for use.

In order to protect the fixtures against the previous habit of the students in dismantling some of the parts for use as pea shooters, the authorities issued stern warnings against tampering and offered a reward of ten dollars for the apprehension of such offenders. The tampering then merely took another form. Some of the students attached extensions and overloaded the circuits.

During 1907-1908 the wiring of the areas designated above and of the boys' and girls' buildings was completed and supplied with electricity. It was not until five years after Millersville had been bought by the State that electric lighting was extended to the Library, the Model School and the areas not equipped in 1908. This was done in spite of specific instructions from Governor Pinchot, transmitted by Dr. Finegan, that no expenditures were to be made except such as were "absolutely necessary."

The movement for the extension of steam heating in the main buildings (the top floors had been improved in the nineties) began in 1907. Electric lighting, however, took preference over steam heating. Also, other problems had to be taken up, including a strenuous struggle for the $15,000 appropriation already approved by Governor Stuart in 1907. In some cases the Legislature made appropriations approved by the Governor but the full amount of money to cover the appropriations was not always available. Then the various interests, including the state normal schools, had to fight for the sums appropriated to them. Millersville was under "special obligation" to Senator John G. Homsher and the Honorable Frank B. McClain, both of Lancaster County, for their activity at Harrisburg in getting "what really belongs to the school." Influential friendships of necessity were assiduously cultivated in order to secure its fair share of appropriations.

Another problem that preceded the completion of steam heating was the need to acquire a separate infirmary as a result of a threat on the part of the State Board of Health to close the Normal School after an invasion of diptheria and scarlet fever found the institution without adequate facilities to cope with such an emergency. It was decided to rent the double dwelling owned by E. O. Lyte and J. W. Lansinger and located on Frederick Street. This property was, later in the year, bought by the school for $4,000. Other distractions followed. A $1,200 refrigerating plant was found to be necessary. A sleeping porch for the ailing Principal was built. The extension of the iron fence from the south side of the boys' gate to the end of the property on Frederick Street at a cost of $1,050 does not appear a matter of vital concern today, but to many citizens of Lancaster County of the time, who considered a good fence a sign of good management, and to Dr. Lyte, who believed in locking the gates to prevent the girls from wandering out into the paths of temptation, an iron fence with sharp points to discourage scaling was an important item. A host of routine problems ranging from a dangerous blister on a boiler down

to the persistent breaking of urinal handles engaged the attention of the Building Committee. In spite of all distractions the project of introducing steam heating was finally considered to be just about completed by the winter of 1911, when Dr. Lyte announced with satisfaction that every building was now heated from a central plant and gave Mr. H. E. Baughey, the steward, much credit for the actual work. The twenty or more hot air furnaces and stoves were now abandoned and the coal bins were removed from the basement.

After the installation of steam heating, the improvement and expansion of the physical plant lagged for a considerable time. The embezzlement of approximately $6,000 of the Normal School's money by J. W. Lansinger, a trusted and respected employee for many years, added to a slightly declining enrollment, discouraged further large-scale improvement in the physical plant. The outbreak of war in Europe and the subsequent entry of the United States into World War I terminated the necessity for expansion. Likewise, the negotiations for the sale of the Millersville Normal School to the state did not promote a desire to spend money for improvements. In the last years of Dr. Nathan C. Schaeffer's incumbency of the office of Superintendent of Public Instruction, there was a noticeable air of conservatism where there should have been an air of optimism, and improvements on the educational level were quite as few as improvements in the physical plant.

When Dr. Thomas E. Finegan succeeded Dr. Schaeffer in the office of Superintendent of Public Instruction in 1919, two years after Millersville had been purchased by the state, there was a tremendous change in the Pennsylvania educational world. The Finegan program was greatly concerned with the improvement of teachers and the raising of salaries to attract better teachers. It was quite clear that not everything could be done at one time. Material improvements at Millersville and the other normal schools could well wait a few years until the other gains had been consolidated.

The advances of the Edmonds Act of 1921 were not consolidated until about the fall of 1927, when every new teacher was required to have the equivalent of a two-year normal school course of college grade or its equivalent in formal training. The insistence of Governor Gifford Pinchot, who did not reappoint Superintendent Finegan on reasonable terms in 1923, that the state must operate on a strictly cash basis did not advance the movement toward the improvement of the physical facilities of the state normal schools.

EXPANSION UNDER STATE AUTHORITY

By 1928 the normal schools had all become state teachers colleges and the major changes initiated by Dr. Finegan had been continued and consolidated by his successors. The individuality of the normal schools was steadily being merged in the movement toward uniformity.

By the spring of 1928 tentative plans had been laid by the Department of Public Instruction under the energetic State Superintendent John A. H. Keith to construct training schools at California, Clarion, Kutztown, Lock Haven, Slippery Rock, and Millersville, employing the same architect for all the projects. Bids for the Millersville school were officially opened at Harrisburg on November 8, 1928. In the awarding of the contracts, amounting to $122,388 for Millersville, the local authorities had practically no voice. More and more the Boards of Trustees were becoming merely "departmental administrative boards," with very limited discretionary authority or policy making functions.

Contracts were awarded for the elementary training school before a lot for the building had been secured. The Trustees and the State agreed that the property of Harry S. Warfel, east of the old model school, would be suitable for the location of the new school. Mr. Warfel, recognizing the favorable bargaining position in which he found himself, decided to demand $2,000 per acre for the land. The Millersville Trustees considered the price exorbitant and requested authority from the State to proceed with the exercise of the right of eminent domain, previously granted to all state normal schools. The viewers gave Mr. Warfel a generous $7,000 for a little more than six acres of land. This was still considered too high by the Trustees, who were meticulously careful with the spending of state money, but Dr. Keith advised against an appeal. Neither did Mr. Warfel take an appeal. The Elementary Training School was completed in 1929. In the same year the traditional multiple porches were removed, much to the displeasure of many old graduates who disliked to see such a complete face lifting project completed.

Early in 1930, plans for the president's residence were approved. The general contracts amounted to over $26,000 and a $4,500 allotment was made for furniture. This was the first official residence outside the main buildings provided for the head of the school.

Dr. Landis Tanger, President of the Millersville State Teachers College, was ready with recommendations for a new gymnasium, a new recitation building, and other improvements, but the seriousness of the depression years, especially the legislative year of 1933, prevented all serious consideration of physical expansion. In fact, for a year or two individual state teachers colleges were more concerned about mere survival than about expansion.

In 1935 the Legislature established the General State Authority, a public corporation, for the purpose of financing state teachers college and related building programs. The General State Authority secured funds by selling its bonds to the Pennsylvania Public School Employees Retirement Fund, an act which was permitted by virtue of a law passed in 1937. Many teachers vigorously objected to this method of financing. The bonds were retired by regular deductions from the maintenance

and operation appropriations made by the State to the teachers colleges. The General State Authority financed a large building program at ten of the state teachers colleges in 1938. On August 7, 1937, the Millersville Board of Trustees approved the preliminary plans prepared by the architectural firm of Savery, Scheetz, and Gilmour of Philadelphia for the Brooks Gymnasium, the Wickersham Hall education building, the new power plant, and library and recreational facilities for the elementary training school, construction of which was to begin in February of 1938 at an estimated cost of $541,567. Only Indiana and West Chester received slightly larger allocations.

Dr. Lester K. Ade, Superintendent of Public Instruction, emphasized that the building program was designed for the replacement of obsolete facilities and not as an expansion program. This point of view was apparently set forth to satisfy Allegheny College, Bucknell University, and a number of other liberal arts colleges that still objected to the expansion of the state teachers colleges, supposedly at the expense of the professional education programs of the liberal arts institutions.

The Minutes of the Board of Trustees, the Administrative Code, and the information supplied by a number of state teachers college officials indicate that the local authorities had very little voice in the determination of plans and policies. The Department of Public Instruction at times consulted the local authorities, apparently out of a sense of courtesy, but as often the local authorities were merely asked to sign papers and approve plans after the plans and policies had already been determined. The independence of the normal schools had been severely curbed and their boards of trustees simply acted as state administrative boards in a large centralized system. The boards of trustees were, in fact, sometimes dealt with in an arbitrary manner, hardly calculated to respect their prestige. In 1936 Governor George Earle in a curt letter to six of the nine members of the Millersville Board of Trustees asked for their letters of resignation. Two more members of the Board, including H. Edgar Sherts, who had served the normal schools generously and well in the crisis of 1933, decided to resign, leaving only one member who was satisfied to remain a Trustee. The new appointees were all Democrats. Fortunately this dangerous precedent was not generally followed after 1936.

The first building program under the General State Authority at Millersville was completed in 1939 and enabled the college to offer an improved service to its students and to the state.

As Dr. Tanger pointed out, the next need would be new dormitory facilities. The dormitories were nearly a hundred years old and constituted a serious fire hazard to the hundreds of boarding students. Fireproof stair wells were constructed but the internal structure of the buildings still constituted a fire hazard.

During the year 1951, the General State Authority, by authority of a law of 1949, began the erection of Roddy Hall, a new boys' dormitory;

Lyle Hall, a new girls' dormitory; Lyte Auditorium; and a remodeling of the Library. The completion of these projects has provided Millersville State Teachers College with a modern and complete physical plant.

Many well-informed people are inclined to give much credit to President D. L. Biemesderfer, who is a far-sighted, diplomatic, and persuasive administrator, for effectively calling the needs of Millersville to the attention of the State Department of Public Instruction.

CHAPTER V

The Faculty and the Student Body

THE FACULTY

THE faculty members of the first Pennsylvania State Normal School were for the most part an honest, conscientious, and hard-working group of teachers. E. O. Holland, a critical observer in 1910-1911, had this to say about the faculties of the normal schools:

> With few exceptions, the faculties of the Pennsylvania normal schools are composed of fine-spirited, earnest men and women who have the best interests of their pupils at heart and who give their whole energy to the school. In the main these teachers are both overworked and underpaid.

The nucleus of teachers at Millersville that set the moral pattern of the school and created the conditions or atmosphere under which the institution operated during its private school history was, with several notable exceptions, made up mostly of Millersville State Normal School graduates. Throughout the period of private control teachers such as Andrew R. Byerly, E. O. Lyte, George Hull, H. Justin Roddy, Frank Albert, Jane Leonard, Anna Lyle, Amanda Landes, Sarah H. Gilbert, Carrie Myers, and others of perhaps an equally substantial character gave a rather severe moral tone to the institution.

Nearly all the professors were deeply religious and did not hesitate to inculcate the students with commonly accepted elements of the protestant faiths. In the first Catalog of the institution, after announcing that church attendance was compulsory, it was stated that the school had "full faith in the doctrine that man's moral nature needs culture quite as much as his intellectual, and the greatest care will be taken to train the habit and instill correct moral principles." That they were deeply religious is evidenced by the insistence with which they pursued the subject of religion. Prayer meetings for students were a regular part of the normal school life, and even though students sometimes raised disturbances at these meetings and special seating arrangements were necessary, the faculty redoubled its efforts in their behalf. Bible classes taught by normal school professors on Sunday morning were at first voluntary but when attendance lagged they were made compulsory for all resident students, except in cases where parents registered particular objections and made written requests that an excuse be granted. School was opened daily with chapel exercises in which prayer, sometimes prolonged prayer, the reading and singing of hymns, the doxology, and the Lord's Prayer were regular features, in addition to announcements and the distribution of mail.

The libraries were liberally supplied with books and papers of a religious and moral nature. The Sunday School Association possessed hundreds of books dealing with the rewards of virtue and the serious consequences of wrongdoing and the neglect of the Word. Members of the faculty encouraged the religious and moral kind of reading as did also the Board of Trustees, which made grants of money to the Sunday School Association to buy books. The Board of Trustees thoroughly agreed with the strict moral codes established for the guidance of the students and was in some cases inclined to be even more strict than the faculty. Both the Board of Trustees and the faculty were quite alarmed by the reading of books written by Thomas Paine and Robert Ingersoll and asserted that no infidel doctrines must invade the Normal School.

In another section of this chapter the practical application of these religious and moral principles will be dealt with in more detail. It will suffice to say here that these rigid principles that led to the banning of card playing as a major evil, the prohibition of even polite conversation between boys and girls, many of whom were older than twenty-one years, and the outlawing (or attempt to outlaw) of even communication between the sexes by means of letters mailed at the United States Post Office prevailed during practically the entire period of private ownership, but rapidly faded with the death and retirement of such outstanding nineteenth century teachers as Anna Lyle, Amanda Landes, Carrie Myers, Sarah Gilbert, and George Hull during and directly after the first World War.

The faculty of the school performed many functions in the private school period that are today in the hands of individual officers. Every member of the faculty was in closer touch with all the major problems of the school than is the case today. Faculty meetings of necessity were held frequently, usually once a week, and often lasted for two hours or longer. Apparently the teachers were not concerned with the expenditure of a few hours of extra time on the problems of the school, for they introduced problems and asked questions. During practically the entire private school existence the faculty handled discipline for the entire school. The faculty was concerned with the progress of individual pupils in their studies and their moral development. It was quite common for the faculty to promote outstanding pupils at almost any time of the year. This concern of the faculty for the welfare of the student appears in part to be missing today.

The health of the school, absences, the lefts, the newly entered, the general progress of all the organizations, methods of teaching, and practically all concerns of the school were concerns of the faculty.

The faculty as a whole made liberal contributions to worthy causes. Unfortunate families of Millersville were regularly assisted with substantial expenditures out of money collected from the faculty. Col-

lections were made for the earthquake sufferers of Sicily and Calabria. The General Hospital and St. Joseph's Hospital were regularly assisted. Substantial contributions were made to the Alumni loan fund, Professor Frank Albert making a contribution of $100.

It can be said conservatively that the faculty generally had a strong social conscience, it was devoted to the school, it was devoted to what it believed (sometimes erroneously) to be the best interests of the students, and a goodly number of the teachers acted as though they had a mission in life.

It is somewhat difficult to acquire accurate information on the educational backgrounds of all the Millersville teachers before the turn of the century. Very few of them were graduates of four-year liberal arts colleges. The Catalogs list the degrees that were conferred upon the teachers, but there is no reasonably workable method by which the value of those degrees can be judged. Many bachelor's degrees were conferred by struggling institutions that did not require much preparation beyond the common branches for admission and did not require four years of solid academic work. Degrees did not have a uniform value, and bachelor's, master's, and doctor of philosophy degrees were sometimes conferred on an honorary basis. In spite of the rigid moral codes that prevailed, some of the normal school teachers secured doctor of philosophy degrees in absentia by writing four thousand to eight thousand word essays and paying the proper fees. It might be mentioned in extenuation for normal school teachers that doctor of divinity degrees were also conferred in absentia. Henry F. Bitner, a teacher of natural science and the preceptor, secured a doctor of philosophy degree from the University of Wooster in Ohio largely on the basis of a thirteen page thesis that would hardly pass today for a term report. The cost of the entire course for the doctor's degree at the University of Wooster was $55 in 1891.

A few of the teachers graduated from recognized liberal arts colleges. Others graduated from a variety of institutes, conservatories, seminaries, academies, drawing and penmanship colleges and universities, and other schools whose standards are difficult to evaluate. Many of the Millersville teachers were graduates of Pennsylvania state normal schools. A few graduated from highly regarded normal schools from out of state. At least four came from Colonel Parker's famous Cook County Normal School. Of the teachers who left the greatest impression on Millersville, it appears safe to say that the majority graduated from the Millersville State Normal School. The following outstanding graduates readily come to mind: Andrew R. Byerly, George Hull, Principal E. O. Lyte, Principal P. A. Harbold, Frank Albert, H. Justin Roddy, Anna Lyle, Amanda Landes, Sarah Gilbert, and Jane Leonard. They were all students of exceptional ability and industry. Some of these outstanding teachers taught in the normal school before

graduation. This practice of inbreeding was common at other Pennsylvania state normal schools, but was defensible on the basis of need and the ease with which high types of teachers could be selected.

The number of college graduates on the faculty at Millersville increased considerably between 1900 and 1917. Franklin and Marshall College, Howard University, the University of Pennsylvania, Drexel Institute and other highly-regarded institutions began to furnish more members of the faculty, although the practice of employing members who were also graduates of Millersville did not appear to be changed. However, in 1910 only 117 of 265 Pennsylvania state normal school teachers held the bachelor's degree. Only 183 of 265 had attended from one to four years of college. For the state as a whole the picture was not encouraging on a basis of academic training. Earned doctor's degrees from reputable institutions were rare. Of the five doctor's degrees held by members of the Millersville faculty, none fitted the description of an earned degree conferred by a school equipped to do graduate work.

On the subject of the experience acquired by faculty members of Pennsylvania state normal schools before assuming their positions, only one study appears to be available. E. O. Holland in 1911 wrote as follows:

> Thirty, or 11.4 per cent of the 265 reporting the amount of previous experience, had never taught before. Only 226 specifically stated the kind of position they had previously held. Eight had been city superintendents, and a majority of these eight have become normal school principals; 19 had been high school or ward principals; 26 had been engaged in teaching in some of the small Pennsylvania colleges; 156 had been only common or graded-school teachers; and but 17 or 7.5% had had previous normal school experience. Most of these 17 had been employed in other Pennsylvania normal schools, which indicates that it has been the policy of a majority of the principals never to go outside of the state to supply vacancies. As a consequence Pennsylvania normal schools have too seldom been able to compare their methods and results with those of other state normal schools.

In a general way these statements fit Millersville, although on a number of occasions Dr. Lyte did employ competent teachers from out-of-state and from other state normal schools such as the Oswego (New York) State Normal School and the Cook County Normal School. Generally, however, the salaries paid were such as to make the employing of the best experienced out-of-state teachers a little difficult.

It was a common practice at Millersville before 1910 to employ the wives of professors as instructors. Mrs. J. Willis Westlake, Mrs. Edward Brooks, Mrs. Frank Albert, and Mrs. E. O. Lyte were a few of

the outstanding married women teachers who served in the nineteenth century. Relatives of professors and principals were not infrequently employed as teachers. At least one of these cases might be regarded as a rare case of poor judgment on the part of Dr. Lyte. However, by 1937 the state regulations on the policy of employing more than one member of a family had become so thoroughly fixed that Dr. Stella Finney Stine, the wife of Professor Mark Stine and a competent and experienced state teachers college instructor, was not permitted to temporarily fill the unexpired teaching term of Dr. Paul Chandler.

As was pointed out before, normal school teachers were generally overworked and underpaid. To a certain extent that is still generally true today. The average salary in all the schools in 1911 for 137 women normal school teachers was $782.88 and for 134 men (excluding the principals) $1,176.77. At Millersville the average salary for women was about $840 and for men about $1,345. As professional incomes, the salaries were low, but they were about twice the salaries paid to public school teachers. It is very noticeable in the salaries at Millersville, as was true in the rest of the state, that men normal school teachers were paid higher salaries than were paid to women. Also, key teachers were paid considerably higher salaries than other teachers, the gap being wider among the men. At Millersville in 1910, the salaries for the men ranged from $770 to $1,800 and for the women from $670 to $1,170. Early in its history, Millersville prided itself on the principle of equal pay for equal work as concerned men and women, but that principle was rapidly abandoned and was not revived until the state bought the normal schools. Millersville salaries were higher than the average for the state which indicated that the management was good. The salaries were not regarded by Dr. Lyte as "extravagant."

Even though these salaries were considerably higher than the salaries paid to public school teachers, the Normal School received more than a full measure of return for the salaries expended. Throughout the entire private school history almost all of the teachers, except Byerly and Hull, lived in the dormitories and were regarded as on call. Every teacher was responsible for the enforcement of all the rules that were generally applied. In the frequent faculty meetings, statements to this effect were repeated many times over the years. A teacher was therefore literally on duty at all times. Even when teachers were on a visit to Lancaster they were to keep their eyes open for Millersville students who might be violating one of the numerous rules.

The regular number of class periods per teacher was six a day or thirty periods per week. In addition to the regular teaching periods, groups of teachers were regularly assigned to maintain order in the Literary Societies, to supervise the study halls, to give special examinations, and to serve on committees. All the organizations needed

sponsors. Teachers were expected and requested to help students out of class, to attend literary society meetings, and to encourage with their presence all the organizations. Sociables were seldom left in the hands of the students and were usually closely supervised by faculty members. The younger men teachers were expected to assist with athletics without additional compensation. All the teachers policed the dining room and for years were assigned definite places at the tables to maintain order and to teach table manners by precept and example. Since many of the students came from the lower economic and social groups it was quite often necessary to instruct students in proper use of silverware. An elaborate set of rules was drawn up and teachers were expected to see that pupils did not use the knife to convey food to the mouth, that they did not pour coffee in the saucer and drink therefrom, that in eating prunes, they did not "spit the seed" out on the plate, and that a score of other directions were followed.

Usually about ten teachers were assigned to teach the Sunday morning Bible classes which were compulsory for the students, and all were expected to show an interest from time to time in the Wednesday and Sunday evening prayer meetings sponsored by the Y W C A and the Y M C A. Daily chapel was compulsory for teachers as well as pupils. Teachers were expected to be prompt and to be alert to the problem of pupils studying during these sessions. Even boys like H. Justin Roddy, who later became a distinguished member of the Millersville faculty, had to be broken of this habit of studying during Chapel exercises.

The obligations of a normal school teacher at Millersville have not been exhausted by any means, but what has been said is enough to demonstrate that the teachers were rather fully occupied in the nineteenth century. When the Trustees proposed to raise the teaching periods to seven a day, the faculty members wrote a strong letter of protest to the Board, which did not pursue the subject further. A fact to keep in mind is that the classes were large, commonly exceeding forty and often exceeding fifty, sixty, or even seventy. Some of the teaching classes numbered over a hundred.

Even under these circumstances a number of the faculty members succeeded in acquiring a broad and liberal education. An unusual number of the teachers made outstanding contributions in the field of textbook writing, institute lecturing, leadership in educational and civic organizations, and in other fields. John F. Stoddard, the first Principal of the Lancaster County Normal School in 1855, was the author of a series of arithmetics that were used in the public schools for nearly fifty years. James P. Wickersham, who attended the Unionville Academy, became a broadly educated and widely read man, as indicated by the range and content of his library. Professor Wickersham, while he was Principal of Millersville, wrote *Methods of In-*

struction and *School Economy*. These books were widely used for more than twenty-five years and were translated into several foreign languages. His *History of Education in Pennsylvania,* published in 1866, is still regarded as one of the best of the state histories. Edward Brooks, Principal from 1866 to 1883, wrote *Normal Methods of Teaching, Mental Science,* and a nationally-known series of mathematics textbooks. George W. Hull wrote a series of mathematics textbooks that were widely known thirty years ago. The name of Stoddard, Brooks, and Hull are highly-respected names in the field of elementary and secondary school mathematics textbooks. H. Justin Roddy became nationally known as a geologist and geographer and as the author of a series of geography textbooks. He was also a naturalist and wrote a number of pamphlets on local natural history. Dr. Andrew R. Byerly did not write much for publication but was reliably credited with an excellent knowledge of Latin, Greek, and the Bible. Former students of Dr. Byerly almost without exception speak with a respect bordering on reverence about the "Grand Old Man" who regularly met his classes until he was nearly eighty years of age. Dr. Lyte wrote grammar and composition texts, bookkeeping sets, and edited song books that are still in the homes of some old normal school graduates. Dr. T. R. Baker wrote a textbook in natural science. J. Willis Westlake wrote a spelling book, a composition text, a book of poems, and a history of literature. Professor Benjamin Heydrick wrote a history of American literature.

These nineteenth century contributions of the Millersville State Normal School faculty to the field of textbook writing were outstanding, especially in the field of mathematics. Albert N. Raub, who wrote a series of common school readers and two textbooks on professional education; D. M. Sensenig, who composed a nationally-distributed series of mathematics textbooks; and other nineteenth century students at Millersville undoubtedly owed much to the example set by the professors at Millersville.

Dr. Wickersham and Dr. Lyte both served as president of the Pennsylvania Teachers Association and both served as president of the National Education Association in which offices they performed their tasks well. John F. Stoddard and B. F. Shaub served as president of the Pennsylvania State Teachers Association in 1857 and 1880 respectively. Dr. Brooks was prominent in national affairs and became president of the National Normal School Association. Millersville considered it an honor of no small proportions to have two of its principals reach the presidency of the National Education Asssociation in the nineteeneth century. The Trustees were equally proud of the state-wide institute lecturing done by many faculty members, particularly Wickersham, Brooks, Lyte, and Hull. Institutes were valuable means of education and inspiration, especially in the nineteenth century.

The faculty of the normal school period appeared to be limited in advanced formal schooling, but the achievements of many of its professors were highly and widely respected.

The Faculty today is regarded by the Evaluating Committee of the Middle States Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools (1950) as well-prepared and competently led. Special mention was made of the "high rank" of the college in the democratic spirit of its faculty. Special activities in the mathematics department and the history department were singled out for commendation. "Excellent instruction in music," "generally superior instruction in English," "effective instruction in industrial arts" despite certain physical handicaps, and a "rather extensive use of audio-visual aids" were other commendations made by the committee. In spite of the fact that there is, according to the committee, some tendency toward "too much contentment or satisfaction with the status quo," the report on the faculty of today is generally very satisfactory.

THE STUDENTS

Throughout the nineteenth century, and for a decade thereafter, there were almost no admission requirements for entrance to the Millersville State Normal School or any other state normal school in Pennsylvania. The first statement of admission requirements in a state normal school appears in the Catalog of 1858-1859 and reads as follows: "Students with a *fair* knowledge of the branches of study required by law to be taught in Common Schools, can enter this course and graduate in two years."

The number of students with the requisite training who applied was small. Even though Millersville had been in existence since 1855 as a county normal school, by the end of the 1858-1859 term the students in the senior class numbered only one lady and six gentlemen, and the members in the junior class numbered ten ladies and twenty gentlemen, including T. R. Baker, a future natural science teacher at Millersville and Albert N. Raub, a future state normal school principal in Pennsylvania. The rest of the 123 ladies and 277 gentlemen did not possess a fair knowledge of the common school branches and were classified in preparatory sections. These preparatory sections were, of course, preparatory to the normal school work and were equivalent to the common school requirements as defined by law.

In 1899 no admission requirements were stated and it was announced that "when students enter school they will be assigned to the class in which their qualifications entitle them to be placed." In the same year there were six preparatory sections listed as First A, Second A, First B, Second B, First C, and Second C. The pupils of the preparatory sections had not completed the equivalent of the eighth grade. In 1911 the Superintendent of Public Instruction announced that graduates of the third-class high schools would be admitted to the

first year of the new four-year course without examination. Eighth grade graduates could still be admitted to normal schools on examination and could graduate in four years. In fact, there was a premium of one to two years on entering a normal school from the eighth grade. It was not until 1920 that graduation from a first-class high school was required for entrance to all state normal schools in the Commonwealth. It was not until 1932 that definite selective procedures were agreed upon for all state teachers colleges. Today a student must rank in the upper half of his graduating class to be admitted to any state teachers college without an examination. Admissions on the basis of tests remain flexible.

When the township high schools began to develop after 1895, Millersville drew a fair number of the graduates from these predominantly one, two, and three-teacher high schools into its courses. In fact, by 1910, Millersville had a higher percentage of high school graduates of all classes enrolled than any other Pennsylvania state normal school. Some of these high schools were staffed by normal school graduates.

Millersville and her sister institutions had the choice of enrolling many poorly-prepared students of less than common school standards or suffering a heavy reduction in enrollment. The methods of distributing the state appropriations to students on a weekly basis of attendance and the making of graduation grants of $50 encouraged larger enrollments than the quality of the applicants seemed to warrant, as did also the fact that, within certain limits, larger schools were more economical to operate per student than smaller schools. Millersville repeatedly made efforts to maintain and to raise its academic standards and apparently did exceptionally well on a basis of college admissions, on a basis of the demand for its graduates in responsible public school positions, on the basis of the success of its graduates on the staffs of other normal schools, and on the basis of the success of its graduates in the professions. These measures of success were present in spite of the fact that Millersville, in order to remain in the stiff competitive search for students, accepted practically everyone who applied during the greater part of its existence as a private institution.

These applicants were given a classification test and on that basis were assigned to the sections that they were thought best suited to enter. This was an early form of ability grouping and was practiced until the period of state ownership. The sections to which the students were assigned were sometimes quite large. For example, one of the methods classes in 1902 numbered 73 girls and 53 boys, making a total of 126. Another group consisted of 72 students, 47 girls and 25 boys. In 1910 one laboratory section in zoology had 58 students and another in botany had 60, while nine other classes had enrollments from 40 to 71. Other normal schools presented a similar picture. Exceptionally small classes were scheduled only for the scientific course,

which was both uneconomical and ill-suited to the purposes of the normal school. The scientific course had considerable prestige value, however.

In the early period of Millersville's history, the students were mostly boys, outnumbering the girls by two and three to one. During the Civil War years of 1863-1865 the ratio of boys to girls dropped somewhat but a two to one ratio was promptly resumed after the war. The trend, with some fluctuations, from the Civil War to World War I, was approximately reversed. By the turn of the century, the girls were just slightly ahead of the boys in total enrollment. Dr. N. C. Schaeffer had predicted that the raising of standards for admission would convert the normal schools into girls' institutions. He had apparently assumed that Pennsylvania would continue its policy of inadequate compensation for its teachers and, therefore, the men would leave for better compensated fields. Low salaries, the economic opportunities and military needs created by World War I, and other factors had reduced the ratio of boys to girls at Millersville to an all time low of 31 to 178 in 1917. Since the World War the ratio has fluctuated with the recurring crises and the attempts to raise the compensation and conditions of teaching.

It seems quite clear that the majority of students in the normal schools were generally drawn from the lower social and economic groups of the population. According to recent studies, this is still true. About half of the students came from rural areas before 1910 and were trained in rural schools. The majority of the remainder came from small village schools. Whatever the limitations of the general background may be, it must be recognized that a continual process of recruitment into the ranks of leadership takes place from the lower social and economic groups.

The teaching field was comparatively easy to enter in the nineteenth century. All that was necessary for a teacher without a normal school diploma was to take and pass an examination (oral in Lancaster County) given by the county superintendent. As a matter of practical necessity, the quality of the passing level was somewhat dependent upon the number and the quality of the applicants. A provisional certificate good for one year was then issued to the teachers who passed the examination and a professional certificate to those who were considered well-qualified. One indication that the county superintendents as a group did not consider the general level of the applicants as very satisfactory is the fact that in 1895 they granted 15,732 provisional certificates and only 879 professional certificates. Usually the competition was not heavy in many counties for the poorly paid teaching positions and, therefore, frequently the minimum standards were not high. The minimum standards could hardly be otherwise, considering the short terms and low salaries.

During the spring vacation it was possible for teachers to attend

a state normal school at relatively low cost and a comparatively large number of teachers with the minimum qualifications took advantage, often with great sacrifice, of the opportunities afforded by the normal schools. In spite of the low salaries, short terms, and other serious disadvantages, there was always an influential nucleus of devoted teachers who labored with the zeal of missionaries to improve the profession by improving themselves.

Throughout almost the entire history of Millersville as a private institution the attendance was quite irregular in the sense that new students were admitted every week for eight or ten weeks after the opening of school. Often a contingent of eight or ten new students made its appearance for the first time after the Christmas holidays, and it was common for several to fail to return after the holidays. Apparently Millersville did not do much to stop this continual coming and going of students that was bound to interrupt the operation of the school. For years the catalogs stated that "students will be admitted to the school at any time and charged only for the time they are in attendance." However, it was suggested that, "In order to make the most progress in their studies, they should enter at the beginning of the session and remain until the close." It must not be assumed that irregular daily attendance after enrollment was condoned, for such was not the case. In fact, a considerable part of the usual weekly faculty meeting was devoted to a careful check on attendance and the quality of school work.

The practice of entering and leaving at irregular times was not completely halted until a new collegiate course of two years' professional training was set up for all students in 1920 under the supervision of State Superintendent Thomas E. Finegan.

Until the lengthened common school term pushed the March to July spring term into the discard, the enrollment in the spring term was always heavy, indicating that there was a strong desire for improvement among teachers with minimum qualifications. Teachers who taught the rural and small village schools closed them in March or April and the more ambitious teachers often attended the spring session of the Normal School. Many enterprising students without means, thus secured an education on their own initiative. Many of these students secured a normal certificate and with it advanced their positions, thus enabling them to earn the means of furthering a college or professional education.

The age of the normal school student was on the average higher than that of students of equivalent academic attainments today.[1] In

[1] The senior class of 1896 was made up of 56 ladies and 70 gentlemen. The average age of the ladies was 20.9 years. 23 of the 56 ladies had taught school an average of 16.4 months. The average age of the gentlemen was 22.68 years. 51 of the 70 gentlemen had taught an average of 22.5 months. The average common school term for the state was 7.62 months in 1896.

the first place, it was not uncommon for students in rural areas to find it difficult to acquire any kind of satisfacory education for want of adequate facilities and instruction. Many teachers were poorly prepared and the school terms, with few exceptions, were short. Throughout the nineteenth century and a decade or more of the twentieth, a chorus of complaints emanated from the annual reports of the county superintendents on too many poor teachers and equally poor facilities. More than a few students spent nine or ten years completing the common branches. Another reason why many of the students were older than the average high school student of today was the fact that teaching experience was common among the students.

The first Pennsylvania State Normal School was in the nineteenth century primarily protestant in enrollment. It was also primarily protestant in spirit. The leading teachers were practically all stern protestants. Professor George W. Hull was an ordained minister. The hymns, the prayer meetings, the doxology at chapel services, and the compulsory Bible classes on Sunday morning were not sectarian but they were distinctly protestant in spirit. This strongly religious atmosphere in a state-subsidized institution was understandable from one point of view. D. J. Waller, E. E. Higbee, and Nathan C. Schaeffer, the Superintendents of Public Instruction from 1881 to 1919, were all ministers of the gospel.

It was very seldom that there was any reference to the catholic students although some had always been in attendance. A Mr. Wilhelm at an alumni meeting referred to the decrease of catholic students from Schuylkill County and insinuated that there might be a bias in the policy of the school. A few years later the number of students from Schuylkill County was commonly alleged to have been reduced by the antagonism of the superintendent that was engendered as a result of disciplinary action taken against his son.

Today the Newman Club is a thriving institution with thirty or more members and both the faculty and the student body are more cosmopolitan.

During the 1890's a number of students from the Latin American countries came to Millersville. By 1901-1902 the following countries were represented: Puerto Rico, Cuba, Mexico, and Santo Domingo. By 1911-1912 students were present from Honduras, Santo Domingo, Cuba, Brazil, Ecuador, and Mexico. These "Cubans" or "Spaniards," as they were collectively designated, were mentioned a number of times in the faculty minutes as having violated the rules concerning the "association of the sexes." Some of these offenses were rather minor by modern standards. Watching the girls lift their skirts to board the trolleys was one of the offenses of which they were guilty, as were others. They were as a group inclined to be assertive and were mentioned by the faculty for infractions of the rules more frequently than their relative numbers would seem to justify.

When the scholastic standards of the Pennsylvania state normal schools are discussed, the general conditions and environment under which they were required to operate must be kept in mind. The inducements that were offered by the teaching field were not such as to make it possible for the normal schools to apply a selective procedure to applicants. Not enough applied. Millersville and her sister institutions commonly accepted the students who applied and did what they could with them. These students covered a wide range of native ability, industry, and responsibility. At the top of the list were students of the highest intellectual competence with a sense of responsibility and a desire to utilize completely the opportunities that were presented to them. One of these students became Chief Justice of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court. Others served with much credit to themselves and to the "Old Normal" as federal and county judges, as county and city superintendents, as teachers and principals of public schools, as principals and teachers in normal schools and colleges, as lawyers, physicians, and ministers, and as responsible workers in many other fields of endeavor. These were the students who added to the good reputation of the first and largest (in the nineteenth century) state normal school in Pennsylvania. These were the students who furnished the constructive leadership in the literary societies, in the Y M C A, the Y W C A, and the other organizations that developed and prospered at Millersville.

At the bottom of the list were dull students who could not write a simple letter or explanation. These duller students, according to the faculty minutes, had to be instructed to use capital letters at the beginning of sentences and to make certain that the subject and predicate agreed in number. Others were indolent and irresponsible. A few were sent to the Normal School because they were undisciplined at home and the frustrated parents hoped that the "Old Normal" could do what could not be done in the home. The poorest and most irresponsible pupils were weeded out from time to time but the process of elimination appeared to be somewhat dependent on the enrollment prospects. Not all the admittedly "very poor" students were dropped. More often they were conditioned and permitted to continue. Even "poor" seniors were admitted to the State Board Examinations and the State Board of Examiners did not fail anyone at Millersville for a period of seventeen years, as Dr. Lyte proudly proclaimed in the *Normal Journal.*

Normal Schools were educational institutions, but there were also aspects of business to keep in mind. It was pointed out in faculty meetings that examinations of too severe a character and high failure rates would discourage students from coming to Millersville. Therefore, a delicate balance continually had to be struck between high scholastic standards and business and financial necessities. This problem was always on Dr. Lyte's mind and applied particularly to the

lower half (scholastically speaking) of the various classes. The better students, of which there were always a fair number, needed only opportunities and encouragement, which the faculty gave in generous measure. It is the considered judgment of the writer that Dr. Lyte did as well as any administrator could possibly have done under circumstances that did not always encourage high scholarship for all students and that were beyond the ability of any single normal school to control.

In spite of the practical necessity to cater to some pupils who had to be placed in non-passing sections, the records indicate that the Millersville faculty labored earnestly to help the students in its charge. It is easy to agree with Principal Edward Brooks that the institution helped even the poor students to be better teachers and citizens than they might otherwise have been. Dr. Brooks and his successors were faced by a practical competitive situation and not by a theory. There can be no doubt that many of the students, both the superior and the limited in native ability, were inspired to do their best by such outstanding Millersville professors as Dr. Roddy, Dr. Hull, Dr. Byerly, Dr. Lyte, Frank Albert, Sarah Gilbert, Amanda Landes, and Anna Lyle. There is no way of objectively measuring the positive contributions of Millersville to its thousands of students, but that valuable contributions were continuously made, often under difficult conditions, is amply evident. It appears that the greatest contributions were made in the period before the high schools became common and before the state and its people effectively recognized the need for better public schools and greater financial support of those schools.

RULES, REGULATIONS, AND DISCIPLINE

The rules, regulations, and discipline of the Millersville State Normal School did not change appreciably in spirit from the Civil War to the World War. The faculty and the principal, who directly controlled the everyday operation of the school, and the Board of Trustees were always inclined to take a strict view of morals and discipline, especially as it concerned the "association of the sexes." The first set of regulations publicly announced to all applicants appeared in the *Catalog* of 1856-1857 and is summarized in part below:

1. The use of tobacco, in any form is strictly prohibited.

2. Every student will be expected to be present at the daily opening and closing exercises and all general exercises in the lecture hall.

3. Students are allowed to walk for exercise in the vicinity of the school, but no one, otherwise will absent himself, without permission from the principal.

4. No water, dirt, or other material must be thrown from the porticos or windows.

5. It is expected that the ladies and gentlemen of the Institution will treat one another with politeness, but no conversation between

the sexes must take place in the Lecture Room, in the Recitation Room or in the Halls. At the close of the evening lectures or society meetings, all will repair immediately to their respective rooms. Neither sex will be expected to trespass upon that portion of the building assigned to the other.

6. No lady or gentleman, attending the Institution will walk or ride with persons of the opposite sex, except in cases of necessity; and then only with the permission of the Principal. No permission will be given for parties or excursions composed of the two sexes.

7. Brothers, sisters, and relatives, members of the school, can meet in the parlor, upon permission being given by a teacher; and the Principal will extend the same privilege to friends and acquaintances of the two sexes, when in his judgment, the circumstances justify it.

8. Parents and other relatives, from a distance, can see ladies in the parlor and gentlemen in the reception room appropriated to them.

It is hoped that these regulations will recommend themselves to the good sense of every Student, and be obeyed because they are reasonable and right.

These regulations were devised and promulgated by the faculty. The severity of the attitude toward the "association of the sexes" provided the faculty with problems for the next sixty years, as did also the attempt to control nearly every aspect of the student's life. The student arose with the bell, he went to meals with the bell, he went to classes with the bell, he took his recreation with the bell, he studied with the bell, and he went to bed with the bell. The student's life was pretty well regimented and supervised.

Even in the literary societies, the Y M C A, the Y W C A, and the Y W C T U, the constant vigilance of the teachers could not be avoided. Attempts were sometimes made on the part of the teachers to relax their supervision and in one case Dr. Brooks had the faculty sign pledges that they would not interfere and participate in the affairs of the literary societies under certain conditions, but these attempts were not successful in the nineteeneth century. Amanda Landes dominated the Y W C T U for years. It seemed natural for the teachers and principal to consider themselves the guardians of all aspects of the students' lives, which were to be most meticulously shaped and molded in body, soul, and intellect.

The authorities were pleased that the Millersville State Normal School was located in a rural village where the "location of the Institution protects it from those numerous temptations to vice and to an expensive indulgence in scenes of pleasure, which are always found in large cities and towns." Two stagecoaches and three omnibuses connected Millersville with the "temptations" of Lancaster, a distance of four miles away on the toll road. In 1874 the horse cars reached Millersville and in 1891 the electric trolleys were put in operation. Relatively speaking, Millersville was still isolated, but it can hardly

be said that all the students were thereby completely kept out of temptation's way.

The faculty served as a committee of the whole to which were brought practically all serious cases of discipline. Even the principal, the preceptor, and the preceptress made few important decisions without reference to the faculty. This was a suitable procedure when the school was small but did not appear to be efficient administration when the school grew to over 700 students. Throughout the nineteenth century the faculty, with the principal designated as the "President of the Faculty," made the decisions on discipline. The principals did not appear to wield an undue influence in the deliberations by virtue of their office. In fact is was not uncommon for the older teachers to take issue with what the principal had said or promulgated. The method of faculty responsibility for discipline was quite democratic as far as faculty participation was concerned. It was not always as democratic for the student who stood at the faculty bar of justice.

The rather severe attitude and actions of the faculty in the matter of the "association of the sexes" appeared not to mellow with age during the first fifty years. In fact there were indications that the restrictions were becoming more severe. The regulations printed in the catalog remained the same in words and spirit, except that a few additions were made. Correspondence was prohibited between the sexes and this was interpreted in faculty meeting to include not merely note writing but also letters sent through the United States mails. It was also stated that students of the two sexes, other than relatives, could not meet privately except by the special permission of the principal. This meant that students of opposite sexes could not meet in Lancaster or at the home of a friend. Principal Brooks insisted that faculty members should be "vigilant" in the enforcement of the many rules and regulations of the school. There was a firm determination on the part of the faculty that boys and girls (many in fact were men and women) must not meet in what would be considered today a wholesome relationship. Ladies and gentlemen were required to get books out of the libraries at different hours. Arrangement and other committees of the societies were to be of one sex only. In October of 1880 Principal Brooks asked, "since we had cut off all the students social privileges outside, whether we should give them any social privileges inside." In the spring the Principal "suggested that the several walks for the lady students be watched." Protests against the rather severe point of view of the faculty were made by students from time to time, but these protests were ignored when they were mild or regarded as impertinence when they were strong.

During the anniversary meetings of the Page and Normal Literary Societies and during commencement and other important occasions of public interest, it had been customary to relax the rules on the "association of the sexes." On the morning of May 27, 1881, the

day of the Twenty-Sixth Anniversary of the Page Literary Society, Principal Brooks announced from the platform of the chapel that the customary regulations dealing with the "association of the sexes" would remain in force during the Anniversary and, furthermore, that visitors would be permitted to see their relatives or friends only in the ladies' parlor, and only upon permission of the authorities. According to the *Lancaster Inquirer,* the following incidents occurred on Friday evening and Saturday morning:

> Mr. C. S. Passmore, of Rising Sun, Md., was forbidden to walk with his sister, who was at the school on a visit or to talk with her elsewhere than in the ladies' parlor or in the rooms of an acquaintance, Mrs. Baker, wife of Doctor Baker, a member of the faculty. He was even asked not to sit with her in the chapel during the anniversary exercises, but this demand the gentleman refused to obey. Mr. Passmore is about twenty-three, and a teacher in the Public schools of Maryland.
>
> Miss Olivia Green, of West Chester, has been attending the school for some time. On the occasion of the anniversary her brother and his wife came on to see her. When near the monument in the yard, Prof. Westlake informed them they were violating a rule and must separate.
>
> Miss Ettie Lawrie, also comes from Chester County, from the neighborhood of Oxford. She received a visit from her sister and an escort. When talking in the yard a member of the Faculty approached and said the gentleman must leave, and notwithstanding the explanations of Miss Lawrie, the gentleman had to go.
>
> Mr. W. H. Hartzler, of York, a graduate of the class of '78, who taught two years in Conoy Township, this county, and is now teaching in Hagerstown, Md., was separated from two old ladies while talking to them on the grounds.

Considerable indignation was stirred up by the actions of Professor J. Willis Westlake and his associates. As a result of these incidents Editor Appleton Bash, a student from Johnstown, Pennsylvania, read a paper entitled "Normal Government" at the regular meeting of the Normal Literary Society on Saturday night, May 28, 1881. In moderate terms he referred to the anniversary incidents, to the dining room regulations, and to the special privileges allegedly shown some of the students. Mr. Bash was called to account for his actions in reading the paper. The faculty resolved that in the future, "The editors of the society papers must not read any articles reflecting on the management of the school. That the editors will be held responsible for all articles read."

The reaction on the part of many Millersville students was prompt and decisive. There was apparently considerable resentment on their

part against the administration because of the handling of the Langan case in March and now they were strongly indignant against the suppression of "free speech" and "free press." There was much tension and much discussion, the Lancaster papers joining in the discussion. On June fourth, J. W. Coates, a student from Lycoming County, made the next overt move in what many students considered a fight for freedom of speech. J. W. Coates prepared an "incendiary" article entitled "The Autocracy of Millersville" and delivered it at a well-attended meeting of the Annual Junior Reunion on June 4, 1881. The speech appeared to be based on facts but at the same time it was quite inflammatory. A paragraph or two will suffice to illustrate its nature.

> And mark you the consistency: A man may not speak to his wife on these grounds, a lady to her brother, a gentleman to two ladies old enough to be his grandmother; but any insignificant member of the faculty whom strangers do not know from Adam, upon whose brow no look of superior intelligence sets to distinguish him from the common herd, can sit for hours talking to any lady students. Certainly, if a member of the faculty can do this and the school not fall into disrepute, why shall not a man walk with his own sister on these grounds.
>
> The author writes not as one desirous of spending his time with the ladies on these grounds. He has no fond dove with whom he wishes to coo on this yard; but he desires to see common sense and common decency exercised at this school; he wishes to see an institution fostered and supported by the public conducted in the interest of the teachers whose welfare it pretends to seek; and he desires to see men and women treated as such and not as children. (*Lancaster Intelligencer,* June 6, 1881)

The student critic, J. B. Hipple of Mount Joy, spoke his approval of the speech just completed in more moderate terms and pointed out that, as far as the faculty was concerned, "a little more discretion would be more commendable." He went on to say that he could get along quite well under the ordinary regulations but that he objected to the attempt to suppress freedom of speech. He further said that "an autocrat may attempt to muzzle the press and free speech but will fail."

Principal Brooks and members of the faculty were present and heard these speeches on Saturday night. Professor Brooks was busy making notes and, according to some of the newspaper accounts, sat in the midst of an audience that was receptive to the "virus of discontent." By Monday morning eighty-two students signed petitions stating that if Coates and Hipple were expelled they would leave the school. Professor Brooks insisted that these petitions were designed to intimidate the faculty, although the students insisted that such was not the case. At the Monday morning chapel Professor Brooks informed the student body that the case of Editor Coates and Critic

Hipple would be taken up by the faculty that evening and in a challenging manner informed the student body that the faculty would not be influenced in its decision if fifty or a hundred or even five hundred students left. However, he did caution the students not to act hastily. Apparently Professor Brooks, who had not been accustomed to such defiance, misjudged the temper of the students and permitted himself to speak in a very challenging manner and with a display of temper that was not common to his actions. The faculty meeting deliberated on the matter as promised by Principal Brooks and passed the following resolutions:

> I. Resolved, That all students who have engaged in fomenting a spirit of insubordination and have encouraged a violation of the rules of the institution deserve and hereby receive our unqualified censure.
>
> II. Resolved, That any students who absent themselves from their classes or withdraw from school without our permission, or engage in any other conduct calculated to show contempt for the regulations or disrespect for the constituted authorities, shall be summarily suspended.
>
> III. Resolved, That any student who is suspended or expelled from this institution shall be prohibited from entering the school buildings or grounds.
>
> IV. Resolved, That Mr. J. W. Coates be expelled from this institution.
>
> V. Resolved, That Mr. J. B. Hipple be suspended from this institution.

These resolutions were presented to the student body on Tuesday morning, June seventh, and seem to indicate that the faculty did not expect the eighty-two students to live up to their pledge in the petitions. As far as many students were concerned, insult was added to injury when the faculty resolved that students might not withdraw without permission or they would be suspended.

Possibly the faculty relied on the fact that suspended students ordinarily could not enter other state normal schools to deter most of those who had signed the petitions. The atmosphere became considerably more tense when Professor Brooks denied permission for withdrawal to those who requested it. As some of the newspapers pointed out, this was a serious lack of good judgment.

After Dr. Brooks made his announcement, the signers of the petitions walked out of the chapel in a body. Meetings were held throughout the day, and in the evening a public meeting was held in Lancaster to make arrangements for leaving Millersville in a grand and dramatic fashion.

On Wednesday morning, June 8, 1881, the "virus of discontent and disloyalty," as the signers of the petition were contemptuously referred to in a *New Era* article, left Millersville. At their head

marched the Millersville Cornet Band. A banner bearing the single inscription "Free Speech" was fluttering in the breeze. A hundred students followed the signers, of whom all but a few kept their pledge. The parade attracted considerable attention as it serenaded the newspapers that had given them a good press, but the parade avoided with contempt the hostile *New Era,* owned by Trustee John B. Warfel.

"The Revolt of 1881," as it was commonly referred to later, attracted attention all over the East. The local newspapers had a field day, and newspapers in New York City and Philadelphia were eager for news.

The *Inquirer,* the *Intelligencer,* and the *Examiner* were inclined to take the faculty, and particularly Dr. Brooks, to task for the lack of judgment in handling the case. The *New Era* supported the faculty and vigorously condemned the students. It appears that Dr. Brooks and the faculty were almost totally unprepared for the student reaction as a result of their nearly absolute control of the school up to this point. Unwise action was taken in an effort to bolster a doubtful position.

The exodus of the students did not end the problem. That same evening the faculty met again and suspended the students who had withdrawn. They, however, did not suspend the students who absented themselves from school to accompany the parade to Lancaster, as they had threatened to do. The following evening Professor Brooks was no longer so certain of his action and was considerably more conciliatory. He suggested "that the members of the Faculty should be very careful what they say at the present time so that no student can take offense. But should correct all false impressions among the students and treat them with the utmost kindness."

The faculty and Professor Brooks seemed to waver between a defiant expression of authority and kindness. They were uncertain of their position. Letters of encouragement from B. F. Shaub, Superintendent of Lancaster County, who wanted the list of revolters, and from others, gave the faculty the necessary backing to prepare a circular for distribution. Of course, the faculty had the backing of the Board of Trustees. The circular informed the students who withdrew that they were suspended for one full year and that they could be considered for readmission only by admitting that they did wrong and by making the request in writing. For July 4, 1881, the faculty wisely suspended the rules of the school and permitted meetings of visitors and students in the yard, the chapel, the parlor, one music room, and Minerva Hall. Also, students were officially permitted to go to Warfels and Howards for ice cream, which they commonly did without consent.

During most of the following year the Principal and the faculty walked warily, but within the year when it became fairly well established that they had the situation well enough in hand, they gradually reestablished much of their former strict and arbitrary control.

In 1882 a new system of discipline was introduced by the faculty.

A committee of five professors—Byerly, Lyte, Baker, Montgomery, and Westlake—was appointed to draw up a demerit system, which was adopted on April 6, 1882. The system was outlined as follows:

I. *Specific Offenses*

Students will receive demerit marks for violations of rules according to the following scale:

1. Unexcused tardiness at class or Chapel, 1 mark
2. Unexcused absence from class or Chapel, 3 marks
3. Going to Lancaster without permission, 10 marks
4. Unexcused absence from hall during study hours, 3 marks
5. Using profane language, 5 marks
6. Using tobacco in the building or on the grounds, 4 marks
7. Lamp burning after second retiring bell, 2 marks

II. *General Offenses*

Marks will also be given for disorder in halls, dining room, literary societies, etc., for violation of the rules relating to the association of the sexes, for the use of intoxicating drinks, and for other misdemeanors,—the number of marks in each case depending upon the gravity of the offense.

III. *Warnings and Suspensions*

When a pupil has 20 marks he will receive a warning; 30 marks, second warning, parents notified; 40 marks, third warning, parents again notified; 50 marks, suspension from school.

IV. *Cancellation of Marks*

Twenty or fewer than 20 marks to be cancelled at end of session. Excess to be carried over to next session. Marks may be at any time reduced by the faculty on a basis of prolonged good conduct. The demerit marks will be given by the faculty. [not individual teachers.] These marks are intended to reinforce, not supersede, other means of discipline. Expulsions, suspensions, and other penalties may be imposed by a direct vote of the faculty as heretofore. (Minutes of the Faculty, April 6, 1882)

The demerit system was liberally employed for more than thirty years and from time to time it was necessary for the principal to warn the faculty that the demerit system should not be abused. In 1912 the system operated in almost the same manner as in 1882. That the system was still extensively employed in 1915 is evident from the fact that forty-two students were demerited a total of 310 points at the end of the session. All these marks were carefully recorded in a permanent book.

The faculty quite early organized committees to handle discipline. These committees differed from time to time. Sometimes there was a committee of the heads of departments, both men and women. At other times there were separate men's and women's discipline committees working separately on cases involving serious breaches of the

regulations concerning the "association of the sexes," and operating jointly in other cases. Most cases were reported directly to the faculty by individual faculty members. Discipline committees were used primarily for investigations.

The techniques of investigation were sometimes elaborate and very often effective. An example will illustrate one of the techniques. Several boys made a noise in the square, and it was also reported that attempts had been made to climb the tree next to the girls' dormitory and the fire escape. There was a reluctance to talk in view of the fact that the boys had pledged themselves not to divulge any information. The faculty was determined to get at the root of the disturbances, and resolved to break down the reluctance to give information. Accordingly, the ladies' discipline committee worked separately with the girls involved. Generally the girls talked more readily than the boys. The information drawn from the girls was conveyed to the men's committee which then questioned the suspects on the boys' side one by one. All the boys who were under suspicion were held under the close supervision of J. W. Lansinger in the principal's private office and were not permitted to communicate with each other or with anyone else. The men's committee started with the information elicited from the girls. None of the boys knew what any other of the boys had said or just exactly what the girls had said, and since they were questioned one by one, it was quite a disconcerting experience.

The faculty committees were not in a hurry and they were deadly persistent. Notes were compared by the committees, and at the end of the first round the boys had been thrown into a state of utter confusion. When the second round came up, the boys were completely demoralized and were quite ready to talk and to set the record straight so as not to be charged with an offense equivalent to perjury. The technique was quite effective and very few students were equal to a determined faculty. One of the suspects had climbed the fire escape but was discouraged from pursuing his object further by a pitcher of water in mid-February. Another of the boys was up the tree, "but not very far," presumably to get a better view of the girls' rooms.

It was not uncommon for a student to be grilled by a faculty committee for a whole hour, and few students there were who could wear down the faculty. Sometimes students were placed at a slight disadvantage. The ladies' discipline committee had information that some of the girls had been smoking. By a process of elimination the finger of guilt was finally pointed at a small group of girls, who had not weakened under the extremely meticulous and persistent efforts of the committee. The accused girls denied everything, and one offered to take an oath of innocence on the basis of a lack of positive evidence, which apparently the committee did not have. The girls were not

prepared to make a decision on the next alternative that was thrust at them. Misses Lyle, Gilbert, Gherst, and Landes were convinced that the girls were guilty and therefore offered them a difficult alternative, and in a sense, an unfair alternative. They could admit their guilt and take punishment for smoking or deny their guilt and take punishment for smoking and lying, which would mean suspension. All admitted guilt. One refused to admit where she secured her cigarettes and was suspended. The others received twenty-five demerits, or half the number necessary for suspension.

The common methods of punishing pupils were: giving demerits, expulsion, suspension, campussing, pledges, and denial of varying degrees of social privileges. Only rarely were pupils required to write essays as punishment. Detention under the direct supervision of a teacher seems generally not to have been practiced. Sometimes informing parents was a strong deterrent. There were a number of cases where pupils made all types of promises to be relieved of the necessity of having stern parents informed.

The "association of the sexes" was the most important problem for more than fifty years. Both the faculty and the Trustees insisted on an unnatural state of affairs. Boys and girls, many of them twenty years of age or older and experienced teachers, were expected to attend the same classes, literary societies, chapel, and other school functions without talking to each other, without sitting next to each other, and without communicating by written note. Communication by letters sent through the mail was even forbidden. Even at their so-called social functions boys and girls were not permitted to associate with each other in a friendly normal manner. All kinds of games where the opposite sexes touched each other were strictly taboo. Special walks on the grounds were designated for the ladies, and these walks were sometimes "watched" by the "vigilant" faculty. In the front yard, the ridge and adjoining ground separating the board walks leading to the front gates was a no man's land where neither sex could trespass. The boys were reminded not to stand around to watch the girls board the trolley. Neither were the boys to delay leaving the chapel in order to admire the young ladies, even from a distance.

For more than fifty years the struggle to prevent the "association of the sexes" went gravely on. The faculty was fighting a losing battle, but its vigilance was not relaxed in the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth. The best efforts of a most determined faculty could not prevent the students from doing what was natural for them to do.

There was a slight inconsistency in the matter of the enforcement of the rules against the "association of the sexes." As one of the students pointed out during the "Revolt of 1881," the rules did not apply to faculty members. In fact, Dr. Lyte, Dr. Hull, and a number

of other teachers had married students. Two of the lady teachers married students. But when two students became engaged, "Mr. Westlake was of the opinion that the fact that he [the boy involved] had formed and cultivated an intimacy with Miss Cunningham which resulted in an engagement, while both were students in this institution and during the school session, was in itself prima facie proof that he had violated the school regulations concerning the relation of the sexes, for under these regulations no such result is possible" and moved his suspension.

The faculty had another quite serious problem on its hands. In spite of the strict moral atmosphere, a number of the boys were tempted to drink too much of intoxicating beverages. Judging from the number of saloon licenses that were issued and the number of distillers who operated in Lancaster County, it appears that drinking by the general population was quite common.[2] It also appears that, even though it was considered a serious problem by the faculty, it was not as alarming to them as the "association of the sexes." The general procedure was to require a temperance pledge to be signed by the student on the first offense. A second offense violated the pledge and the student was suspended. In 1890 seven temperance pledges were recorded in the principal's Black Book of confessions and pledges, including two pledges by girls who drank wine. In 1897 ten pledges were recorded. A fair percentage of the boys who drank intoxicating beverages became sick, which would appear to be one indication that drinking was an adventure and not a habit. Sometimes they used poor judgment in the mixing of drinks. One boy drank a few glasses of beer, then ate some oysters, and when his stomach rebelled he tried to cure the situation by drinking vermouth. The results were what might have been expected.

The faculty took the problem in its stride and on occasion assisted students who were in an advanced stage of inebriation to their rooms. By no means was the problem out of hand, but a problem did exist, not only at Millersville, but elsewhere. Apparently the problem was more serious at Edinboro State Normal School. On petition, the State Legislature enacted a special law in 1869 making it unlawful within a five mile radius of North Western State Normal School at Edinboro "to sell, give, or in any manner furnish any student of said school with any spirituous vinous, malt or brewed liquor, to be drank [spelling in original] as a beverage." A fine of not less than fifty dollars nor more than one hundred dollars and a term in jail of from ten to thirty days, at the discretion of the court, was fixed as the penalty for violating the law. A special law was passed for the benefit of Mansfield State Normal School in Tioga County. The law provided that no

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2 At least one Trustee operated a tavern and another a distillery. Twenty-six distilleries were in operation in Lancaster County in 1860.

licenses should be issued for the sale of any form of intoxicating beverages within a radius of two miles of the normal school. Licenses already issued could not be renewed on expiration. Heavy fines and prison terms were provided by the law. Samuel G. Behmer, the steward, proposed a similar rule for Millersville but the Trustees merely referred to "Behmer's Reform Bill" and did nothing about it.

Another set of problems that continued until the transition period following the World War arose out of the desire of the faculty to suppress card playing. The practice was so commonly accepted as being evil that not a single reference by a faculty member appears in the thousands of pages of faculty minutes explaining why the practice was considered undesirable. When one of the students decided to argue the morality of playing cards with the faculty, he did not make progress. He asked what was wrong with a "sociable game" of cards, and suggested that there was not much difference between cards and ten pins. He demonstrated to a committee that gambling could be associated with ten pins, which were permitted at Millersville. The logic of his argument impressed the faculty committee negatively and on motion he was required to withdraw from school.

Ordinarily card playing was punished by assigning fifteen to twenty-five demerit marks, depending on the circumstances under which the offense was committed. As late as 1917 playing cards past midnight resulted in twenty-five demerits and confiscation of the electric light extensions. Sometimes students evaded harsh punishment by becoming repentant and pious. Four boys who were "detected" at playing cards were saved by signing a petition to refrain from card playing and to use their influence against card playing generally. Forty-one students signed the petition in which they pledged themselves to use their influence to prevent card playing. Another student who was caught drinking joined the Y W C T U and escaped with signing a temperance pledge.

The throwing of water from the windows was a problem that persisted even after the introduction of bathrooms in 1910. Before that time it was natural to expect students to dispose of some of the wash and waste water by throwing it out of windows. The problem was aggravated when a teacher was caught in the path of the descending shower. When a fourth story was added in 1875 and a fifth in 1894 on the boys' dormitory, the problem was again aggravated.

Chewing tobacco and smoking were minor but persistent problems throughout the years. Dr. Brooks at one time suggested to the faculty that it might be well to have everybody sign a pledge to refrain from the use of tobacco and if the pledge was violated the guilty student would be sent out of the building. Nothing appears to have been done with the suggestion, apparently because it was defective in several respects. It would, of course, be effective only when the build-

ing was crowded and other students were available to replace the dislodged offenders. The suggestion is important in that it clearly indicates a method of approach to problems of discipline.

Many of the most persistent problems with which the faculty dealt in the private school period arose out of situations that would not be considered of any consequence today. There were, however, always problems of discipline that demanded attention. Even though most of the students were inclined to live harmoniously with their fellow students and with the faculty and were generally disposed to obey the multiplicity of rigid and minute rules promulgated by the faculty, there was a minority of students who were uncouth and irresponsible. In the early history of the school, Dr. Brooks seemed to judge the end of the year conduct of the students by the amount of furniture that was broken. In 1869 he said, "The order of the last session was very good, less furniture having been spoiled and broken than in any preceding session." The preceding year was also quite satisfactory in that no general destruction of furniture had taken place. Apparently only isolated cases occurred. Dr. Brooks was happy that "no breaking of tables and chairs, and tearing up of furniture generally has been indulged in as has been the case at the close of some other sessions." This boisterous conduct at the end of sessions appears to have run its course by about 1890.

Spitting on the floor was a vulgar and a persistent habit on the part of some students at the Normal School, although it ought to be kept in mind that the unsightly habit of chewing tobacco was very common among the men generally and that expectorating tobacco juice was more or less accepted elsewhere. Legislative halls, the best hotels, and other respectable institutions had their polished brass cuspidors. It might therefore be expected that there would be some tobacco chewing and undisciplined spitting, especially in one of the finest tobacco growing counties in the state and among a student body with a strong rural element. Of course, spitting tobacco juice on the floor never became a respectable habit among the better classes and Dr. Brooks was determined to stamp it out and, accordingly, informed the teachers that if they could not handle the cases to turn them over to him. From time to time it was recorded that the tobacco chewers spit on the walls and defaced the wall paper.

In spite of the fact that prayer meetings, Bible classes, and strict moral codes were the order of the day, there appeared to be an uncouthness in some quarters that is difficult to explain.[3] Fighting in public among the normal school students was not unknown. In 1900 it was decreed that "When the boys fight on the baseball grounds at

[3] Stories of revival meetings and gang fights were not infrequently printed on the same page of the Lancaster papers of the nineteenth century. The period after the Civil War seemed to abound with those extremes.

a match game, the game must stop." By 1908 the order at the Page anniversary had improved to the point where the village constable was hired to keep order instead of policemen from Lancaster. This was in addition to the faculty police under the regular supervision of Dr. Hull. The annual exploding of fire crackers on the grounds and in the building, intermittent hazing of boys who were cooperative in the application of the faculty rule that students shall be required to testify against their peers, the unrest generated by secret societies, and other matters prevented the faculty from relaxing its vigilance.

Many of the explanations given by students are amusing and also instructive. Some of the students were quite meticulous about the charges made against them and insisted that they be correctly charged. When Professor Roddy charged one of the students with blowing a fish horn the student indignantly and persistently denied the charge. It was a cornet. In another case a student became intoxicated and had to be assisted into the building. He agreed that the charges as made by Dr. Roddy were substantially correct except "that he was conscious when he entered the building." In another case a student admitted that the confession in Dr. Lyte's Black Book of confessions and pledges was correct except that the number of beer bottles returned (empty) was nine instead of six.

Some of the excuses and explanations made by students were amusing. A Mr. S. while "tussling" with one of the boys was knocked down and accidentally broke the bottle in his hip pocket. A piece of the glass punctured his skin in the vicinity of the hip pocket. The student insisted that he fell on a sharp stone. When the father came to school he explained that his son had whiskey to rub on his back. Parents "covering up" for sons or daughters and accepting distorted explanations at face value were fairly common then and now. It was agreed that Mr. S. should go home on Saturdays and Sundays, in addition to receiving eleven demerits and signing a pledge. Mr. S. told his father that he had not been fairly dealt with. The case ended with his suspension, when he went to Lancaster a month later, became intoxicated, returned on the trolley car, and had to be put to bed by one of the teachers.

There were other students who were intolerable nuisances, but there were times when the faculty simply tolerated them, and suspended them only when the situation became completely hopeless. A student who stole a football and a ring of keys said that "some evil spirit got hold of him and he could not resist." He received twenty-five demerits; his parents were notified; and he signed a pledge. Another student non-plussed the faculty by threatening that if he were dismissed he "would not go home alive." Apparently the threat worked. He received fifteen demerits and was placed on probation.

Before leaving the subject of student conduct and discipline, it

should be emphasized again that the students commonly ranged from the very good to bad in ability, in industry and application, and in conduct. By far the greater number of students appeared to be well behaved, studious, and ordinarily disposed to abide by the strict rules of the school. Some of them were morally rigid and pious. It was these students, whose deviations from the strict rules were only occasional, that gave the predominating intellectual and moral tone to the literary societies, to the Y M C A, to the classwork, and to the other activities of the school. The minority gave the faculty most of its difficulties, however, and sometimes gave the school a reputation it did not deserve. These minority elements were not in all cases rude and uncouth people. Sometimes they were pioneers in a revolt against commonly accepted arbitrary rule.

Careful observation and inquiry seems to indicate that in the student body of the last fifteen or twenty years the extremes of uncouthness and piety have had a strong tendency to fade out. The students of recent years appear to be neither as crude on one side nor as pious on the other as was true fifty years ago. It appears that a median level of performance and conduct is a noticeable characteristic of the more recent student body.

In recent years the multiplicity of minute rules and regulations have been largely abandoned. Responsible and representative student government and self control have been generously encouraged. It appears that the students, with few exceptions, have responded favorably to the gradual termination since 1920 of many forms of arbitrary and uncompromising control by the faculty. As one of a number of examples that could be given to demonstrate the reasonable response of the students, it might be cited that today the Dean of Men alone has charge of about two hundred men in the dormitories and undesirable conduct is hardly a serious problem. In the period of the normal school, faculty proctors were commonly assigned to every floor and, as far as the records indicate, the conduct at the turn of the century was not as satisfactory as it is now even with at least four times the supervision in the earlier period. The students appear to be intelligently responsive to the democratic and liberal spirit of which the Middle States Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools wrote in 1950.

CHAPTER VI

The Development of the Curriculum

THE NORMAL INSTITUTE, 1855

THE Lancaster County Normal Institute, which opened its door on April 17, 1855, was organized by County Superintendent James P. Wickersham primarily as a school for teachers in service. The curriculum consisted almost entirely of a thorough study and review of the common school branches. It was recognized by a substantial number of teachers of Lancaster County, particularly after the first examinations held by the County Superintendent in 1854, that they were deficient in the very elements that they were expected to teach. Therefore, it was logical that the pioneer normal institute in Pennsylvania should devote itself to the common branches and to methods of teaching. A unique and successful feature of the Normal Institute was the two practice schools that were set up in the two public schools of the unincorporated village of Millersville.

As a result of the success achieved by County Superintendent Wickersham's Normal Institute, the Academy Trustees, with the encouragement of John F. Stoddard, decided to abandon their original idea of establishing a "select school" and instead devoted themselves to the opening of the Lancaster County Normal School. Professor Stoddard became the first principal. The curriculum continued in part to stress the common school branches, but to it were added a number of distinctly academic branches that were ordinarily taught in the academies and colleges. Latin, Greek, and the higher mathematics were offered. The model school was discontinued until 1859 when it was reorganized in compliance with the law of 1857 in what is today the music room on the first floor of the Ladies' Building.

It was pointed out by the Superintendent of Common Schools that the quality of many teachers in Pennsylvania was "deplorable," the majority of them having never read a book or periodical dealing with teaching. At least half had no education beyond the neighborhood school. Many teachers in the Pennsylvania German areas could not even speak or read English well. In Lancaster County the superintendent spoke of the handicaps of the "old indurated material, to whom the visits of the Superintendents are about as pleasant as would be those of the Sheriff" and of the "young, inexperienced and indifferent men and women, whose heart is not in the work, and whose interest is limited by the low salary they receive." With an average school term of five months and thirteen days, an average salary of $24 per month for men and of $16.60 for women, and only one-third of the teachers in the state estimated to be rendering satisfaction, it can be readily

seen that the scholastic background of normal school candidates could not have approximated a mastery of the common school branches.

THE LANCASTER COUNTY NORMAL SCHOOL, 1855-1859

To accommodate the many normal school students with extremely meagre scholastic attainments, it was necessary for the Lancaster County Normal School to set up "a course of study embracing the branches of study required to be taught in the common schools." An advanced course of instruction included the following basic courses in 1857:

Junior Year

First Term (22 weeks; commencing in April)	Second Term (22 weeks; commencing in October)
Geometry, five books	Geometry (completed)
Higher Algebra	Trigonometry and Surveying
Rhetoric	History
Physiology or Botany	Natural Philosophy

Senior Year

Conic Sections	Calculus
Analytical Geometry	Mathematical Astronomy
Philosophy of the Human Mind (Intellectual)	The Philosophy of the Human Mind (Moral)
Chemistry	Geology

In addition to the basic courses listed above, the Catalog stated that "opportunity is also afforded for pursuing a full course of study in both the ancient and modern languages, but their study is optional with the student." Vocal music, instrumental music, painting, and drawing were also offered in 1857.

It is interesting to note that, aside from lecture courses, there was no professional instruction in education and no practice school until 1859. The advanced courses were academic in character and were supposedly designed for students who desired a "general education" as well as those who desired to become teachers. The emphasis on mathematics and the ancient languages was typical of the academies and was copied by the normal schools. Comparatively few students reached the advanced course, which included branches that are today of college level. In 1857-1858, two ladies and five gentlemen had reached the senior year, and eleven ladies and sixteen gentlemen had reached the junior year out of a total enrollment of 465 for the year. In other words, 421 out of 465 students did not "possess a thorough knowledge of the branches embraced in the common school course, viz.—orthography, reading, writing, geography, grammar, mental arithmetic, and written arithmetic, together with a knowledge of the history of the United States, and the elements of algebra, natural philosophy, and physiology."

THE CURRICULA OF THE FIRST PENNSYLVANIA STATE NORMAL SCHOOL, 1859

For the term of school beginning in 1859, an elaborate set of courses—Model School Course, Preparatory Course, Normal Course of two years, Scientific Course of one and one-half additional years, and a four-year Classical course—was approved by Mr. Hickok, the State Superintendent of Common Schools, in anticipation of the state approval that followed on December 3, 1859.

When the Lancaster County Normal School became the first Pennsylvania State Normal School, the courses as outlined in the Catalog of 1858-1859 were approved exactly as they stood. The feature that attracted considerable attention at the hands of the state inspection committee was the Model School, which was carefully planned by Principal Wickersham after observation and study in New England and elsewhere. A model school had been temporarily set up in 1855 but was discontinued until the year of state inspection in 1859. After viewing the partially successful efforts in the practice schools of New England, where normal school students sometimes taught fellow students in a mock class room situation, Professor Wickersham designed what he regarded as a unique model school.

The Normal School Law of 1857 provided for a model school "with not less than one hundred pupils from the children of the vicinity, and so arranged that the students of the Normal School shall therein acquire a practical knowledge of the Art of Teaching under the instruction of their proper professors." The Model School room, on the first floor of the Ladies' Building, was fifty by forty feet in area with one hundred desks of cherry wood. Four recitation rooms were connected with the main room. Twelve hundred square feet of blackboard space was provided for the pupils in addition to globes, charts, maps, models, and other elementary apparatus. Approximately sixty pupils were in attendance at the time of recognition, but that number grew to eighty-eight by the end of the session.

The branches of instruction in the Model School included the alphabet, pronunciation, spelling, reading, writing, drawing, arithmetic, geography, grammar, vocal music, history of the United States, object lessons[1], and in some cases elementary instruction in the languages. There were about thirty recitations daily. The classification, government, and general management of the Model School were in charge of a principal who gave his full time to the school. M. D. Wickersham, a brother to J. P. Wickersham, was the first principal of the new Model School.

The members of the graduating class in the Normal Course and such members of the Scientific and Classical courses as desired to be

[1] Object lessons were employed at Millersville several years before they were made famous by the Oswego Normal School.

teachers became the faculty of the Model School under the direct and daily supervision of the Model School principal. There were no critic teachers or regularly assigned teachers except the principal. Before anyone was permitted to teach in the Model School, it was necessary to give evidence of a thorough mastery of the common branches. It was also necessary to complete two lecture courses on the theory of teaching and to do reading in a standard textbook on teaching. Every senior, except those with acceptable experience as teachers, was required to spend from one to two hours daily for a term of a half a year teaching in the Model School. He was generally responsible for a minimum of two classes, which he taught for one month. At the end of a month the student teachers exchanged classes, but not before mutual visitation had taken place for the purpose of harmonizing the methods employed. A student thus had practice in teaching nearly all the classes in the model school.

The work of the student teachers was observed twice a week by the principal of the Normal School, who generally held two conferences per week with the students he had observed. Professor Wickersham had great faith in the Model School work, which retained high rank at Millersville throughout the nineteenth century. In these conferences, Professor Wickersham insisted that the students must assume considerable initiative in the solution of teaching difficulties. Self evaluation was practiced by his students long before that expression became popular in the educational literature. After the students had an opportunity to ask questions and to search for answers to difficulties that they themselves were encouraged to recognize, Professor Wickersham read from his notes of observation. After the student inquiries and the observations of the principal, the two entered into a discussion of the best methods of teaching each subject and the best methods of school management.

As was pointed out before, many students who were sadly deficient in the common school branches entered the Millersville State Normal School throughout the nineteenth century. Many of these deficient students were older than the Model School students, who ordinarily ranged from eight to fourteen or fifteen years of age. These older students with limited scholastic attainments were placed in the preparatory sections rather than in the Model School. Here they studied the common school subjects and the elements of algebra, natural philosophy, physiology, and the history of the United States in preparation for entrance into the Normal and Classical curricula. Students of all degrees of preparation were accepted and were placed in the sections where their qualifications indicated that they should be placed. This practice continued until at least 1910.

Three courses in the normal department were planned by Professor Wickersham and his colleagues and these courses were approved

by the Superintendent of Common Schools, Henry C. Hickok, as required by the Normal School Law of 1857. The first of these courses was the two-year Normal Course based on a "fair knowledge of the branches of study required by law to be taught in the common schools."

In view of the fact that these first courses at Millersville served as the basis on which all future state normal school courses were patterned during the nineteenth century, the courses will be given in full.

THE NORMAL COURSE

First Term
Orthography & Etymology
Reading & Elocution
Writing and Drawing
Geography
Mental Arithmetic
Written Arithmetic
Grammar
Vocal Music

Second Term
Reading & Elocution
Writing and Drawing
Physical Geography
Higher Grammar
Elements of Algebra
Physiology
Theory of Teaching
Vocal Music

Third Term
History of the United States
Algebra
Elements of Natural Philosophy
Rhetoric
Geometry (five books)
Theory of Teaching
Bookkeeping

Fourth Term
Geometry Completed & Plane Trigonometry
Elements of Chemistry
Botany or Zoology
Practice of Teaching

THE SCIENTIFIC COURSE

First Term
Higher Algebra
Analytical Trigonometry (Half Term)
Spherical Trigonometry & Surveying, (Half Term)
Ancient History
English Literature

Second Term
Conic Sections & Analytical Geometry
Modern History, or Acoustics and Optics
Mental Philosophy
Geology

Third Term
Differential & Integral Calculus
Astronomy
Moral Philosophy
Analytical Mechanics

Students who graduated from the Normal Course or who entered with adequate preparation could pursue a Scientific Course for three terms, or one and a half years. As stated in the Catalog, the course was designed to prepare teachers for "English High Schools" of which

there were so few that the detailed *Annual Reports* for a number of years after 1859 made no reference to them.

The Scientific Course was continued as an official course by all the normal schools until September, 1902. It was continued after that date for several years by Millersville on an unofficial basis. The Course, as taught at Millersville, was generally regarded with high respect. Henry Houck, Deputy Superintendent of Common Schools, came to Millersville to take the state certificate examinations in the Scientific Course in 1875. In one case a scientific graduate was hired by Lehigh University to teach mathematics. Scientific graduates, of which there were eighty-eight in the entire history of the school, for the most part, were more successful than the regular graduates and generally occupied positions of responsibility. Millersville graduated more students in the Scientific Course than any other state normal school in Pennsylvania.

The Millersville State Normal School, with high ambition, also planned a Classical Course in 1859 that was approved by the Superintendent of Common Schools. It is more important as an indication of what the Millersville authorities planned to do than what they actually accomplished. The ancient languages and mathematics were stressed until the era of State control after 1913. The Classical Course was designed to prepare teachers for classical high schools and was arranged as follows:

THE CLASSICAL COURSE

Freshmen

First Term	*Second Term*
Anabasis, Sallust & Ovid	Iliad
Higher Algebra	Livy
Rhetoric	Geometry (five books)
	Zoology or Botany

Sophomores

First Term	*Second Term*
Memorabilia	Herodotus
Cicero	Horace
Geometry Completed	Trigonometry & Surveying
General History	Chemistry

Juniors

First Term	*Second Term*
Select Plays of Sophocles	Select Plays of Euripides
Juvenal	Tacitus
Conic Sections & Analytical Geometry	Differential & Integral Calculus
Geology	Astronomy

Seniors

First Term	*Second Term*
Select Play of Aeschylus	A Dialogue of Plato

A Play of Terence	A Play of Plautus
Acoustics & Optics	Mechanics
Mental Philosophy	Moral Philosophy

The Classical Course did not attract the type of students for which it was designed. Millersville was the only school that graduated students in the course, although the course was listed by the other schools. Mr. Charles Verrill, Principal of the Mansfield State Normal School, secured a state certificate by examination in the Classical Course at Millersville, which is one indication of the comparatively high regard in which the second district State Normal School was held. The number of students who applied for admission to the course was small at Millersville and even smaller at other state normal schools. It was therefore decided by the Board of Normal School Principals to discontinue the course officially in 1878 and to cease granting the degrees of bachelor of the classics and master of the classics. On an unofficial basis Millersville continued to advertise the classical course and continued to emphasize Latin and Greek in other courses. For instance, in the summer of 1894, sixteen classes in Latin, three in Greek, two in German, and two in French were organized.

The year after the recognition of Millersville as a state normal school, the courses, with the approval of the State Superintendent of Common Schools, were rearranged. The Normal Course was extended to three years and was designated the Elementary Course. No basic changes occurred. The Preparatory Course was relieved of some branches that were placed in the Elementary Course. Mental arithmetic and written arithmetic were extended from one to two terms, as were also geography, orthography and etymology, and grammar. Higher mental arithmetic and higher written arithmetic were created as new courses. Reading and elocution were extended from two terms to three terms of one half year each. These extensions fitted into the nineteenth century practice of emphasis on grammar, elocution and mathematics. At the same time, the Scientific Course was extended to two years by borrowing geometry (completed), plane trigonometry, chemistry, botany or zoology, and rhetoric from the senior year of the Elementary Course. The last three terms of the Scientific Course in 1860 remained identical with the Course in 1859. There was no change in the suggestion that girls might substitute other courses for the higher mathematics, which were not considered entirely suitable to the feminine mentality. Neither was there a change in the practice of largely confining girls to the essays, and the reading of poetry in the literary societies, while the men held forth in oratory, where presumably they were more gifted and certainly more accepted by the populace.

As is readily understandable, the Millersville State Normal School was always concerned about its status as a professional institution for

the training of teachers and went to considerable lengths to impress the idea that the normal school differed from the academies and colleges in the approach to the subject matter of the curriculum. This is a debatable point, but Professor Wickersham and the faculty insisted on it. To further set apart the Millersville State Normal School as a professional institution, a set of professional degrees was invented. A graduate of the Elementary Course of three years in 1861 was granted a diploma on which were stated all the subjects pursued in the course and which designated the holder a bachelor of the elements. A graduate of the Scientific Course was designated a bachelor of the sciences, and a graduate of the Classical Course was entitled to the degree of bachelor of the classics.

As was stated in the Catalogs and other literature, "graduates who have continued their studies for two years" (of which no positive proof was necessary), who taught two full annual terms, and who secured from the Board of Directors and the County Superintendent a certificate of good moral character and skill in the art of teaching, might receive a second diploma constituting them masters of the subjects embraced in the first diploma and might have conferred upon them one of the professional degrees as follows: Teachers of elementary didactics, teachers of scientific didactics, or teachers of classical didactics. The professional degrees were seldom used and in their places the masters titles in imitation of the colleges were abbreviated and used. The B. E. and B. C. degrees were distinctly normal school degrees, and were not confused with college degrees. The bachelor of the sciences degree was abbreviated to B. S. and was identical with some college degrees. It must be remembered that these normal school degrees were not the equivalent of college degrees. Their forms changed somewhat from time to time, but up to the time they were abolished in 1915 these degrees never rose appreciably above the secondary level.

The normal school degrees were sometimes severely criticized, even by normal school officials themselves. One of the principals stated, "I have never been very much in favor of our Pennsylvania Normal Schools developing into mongers of pedagogical degrees." In defense of the normal schools, and particularly Millersville, Kutztown and West Chester, it should be said that the degrees represented definite achievement, while many colleges in the nineteenth century and early twentieth century dispensed all types of degrees from bachelors to doctors for varying amounts of work done in absentia. These shoddy degrees, particularly doctors degrees, were not uncommon among normal school principals, college professors, normal school professors, ministers, and others. In an age of strict morality there was a remarkable degree of tolerance toward doctor of philosophy degrees granted by Wooster University, Kansas City University, Potomac

University, and other so-called universities whose main requirements were a fee.

NINETEENTH CENTURY REVISIONS

During the Civil War the Elementary Course of study was dropped back to two years. Some of the work that had formerly been done in the preparatory course was now done in the junior year of the two-year Normal Course. Teachers were not as numerous as previously, therefore, concessions had to be made. The junior year in 1864 provided for a thorough review of the common school subjects with special reference to teaching those subjects. The remainder of the year was spent in studying elementary algebra, bookkeeping, physiology, grammar, and the theory of teaching. In the senior year the elements of rhetoric, geometry, the elements of biology or zoology, the elements of natural philosophy, the history and constitution of the United States, and the theory and practice of teaching were studied. The practice of teaching required a half year as formerly. These changes did not represent a real change in the basic materials of the course. They represented merely a contraction of time spent on the branches. The Scientific Course remained largely unchanged and it was possible to complete both the Normal and Scientific Courses in four years after the completion of the common school branches.

The degrees and courses originated by Millersville, and approved by the Superintendent of Common Schools, were naturally adopted by all the other state normal schools that were founded in the 1860's. With the acceptance by the state of Edinboro in 1861, Mansfield in 1863, and Kutztown in 1866 as state normal schools, the machinery for curriculum revision, as provided by the Normal School Law of 1857, went into full effect. The law provided that the qualifications for admission and the length and general content of the courses were to be determined by the Board of Normal School Principals. Such meetings were to be called by the State Superintendent of Common Schools "from time to time as he may deem expedient." The acts of the majority of principals were binding on all the schools, provided they were approved by the Superintendent. The Board of Normal School Principals at first revised the curricula as a body. After 1878 they used committees on occasion. The curricula adopted by the principals were minimum standards that all the schools had in common. But practically all the normal schools offered courses beyond the minimum required in order to enhance their prestige and to attract students.

In 1866 the Legislature passed a law granting fifty cents per week to any student "over seventeen years of age who shall declare his written intention to teach in the common schools of the state" and $50 to all graduates who promised to teach two years in the common schools. No penalties were attached to a violation of the written promise.

Many students were promptly enrolled for the fifty cents per week appropriation, and the following year a law was passed which provided "that each student in a Normal School, drawing an allowance from the State, must receive regular instruction in the science and art of teaching, in a special class, devoted to that object, for the whole time such an allowance is drawn." At Millersville the publication of Wickersham's *Methods of Teaching* and *School Economy* made it a simple matter to comply with the law, but classes in the theory of teaching were still somewhat large. Two of these classes in the summer of 1867 numbered a total of 250 students. In some schools the masses of pupils, including many who had no real interest in teaching, were assigned to large sections of lecture courses to permit them to draw the state appropriation. These abuses were still prevalent in 1877 when State Superintendent Wickersham had to remind the normal schools in a circular letter that they were not complying with the spirit of the law.

Superintendent Wickersham in defining the law of 1866 wrote as follows:

> 1. The class in teaching must be a special class, with a well-defined course of instruction exclusively of a professional character.
>
> 2. The instruction to a class may be by lectures or from a textbook, but it must be well-defined and systematic.
>
> 3. A class in teaching must not be larger than the regular classes in mathematics or the sciences.
>
> 4. The law undoubtedly contemplates that the classes in teaching shall recite with the same frequency as the classes in other subjects. Recitations once or twice a week in teaching, when recitations in other branches of study take place daily, is not what the law requires.

To make certain that the provisions and spirit of the law were more nearly complied with, Superintendent Wickersham insisted that on all future applications for the state allowances to students there must be a statement of the number and size of classes in teaching, the frequency of the recitations, the names of the professors, and the content of the courses.

It was seen that the Normal School Law of 1857 provided that meetings of the Normal School Principals could be called only by the State Superintendent. Such meetings were called infrequently enough to irritate some of the principals and others interested in the state normal schools. Superintendent Wickersham was at his best in the driver's seat and it is entirely possible that he did not feel any urgent need for advice from the state normal school principals in the revision of the courses that he himself had previously set up at Millersville. The curriculum changes made before 1875 were slight and consisted in the main of rearrangements of branches and new allotments of time.

Even though Latin was not prescribed in the early Elementary Courses, the Board of Normal School Principals in 1866 advised that "the pupils of normal schools be recommended to study the Latin, French, and especially the German language, as far as practicable." Throughout the first seventy years of its existence, Millersville emphasized the ancient languages as did also some of the other normal schools. The derivation of words from the Latin and Greek appeared to be too great a concern of the normal school instructors, whose main duty it should have been to prepare public elementary teachers without the encumbrances of traditions derived from the academies and colleges.

Slight curricular changes were made in 1871, when it was required that a minimum residence requirement of twenty-one weeks be set for graduation. It was further required that the State Board Examinations as provided in the Law of 1857 should apply to all subjects in a particular course, not merely the teaching subjects as had heretofore been the case. Students were first examined by the faculties of the normal schools and were then turned over for further examination to a State Board of Examiners at first composed of three to five principals appointed by the State Superintendent and later composed of county, city, and borough superintendents in addition to the State Superintendent or his agent. Also in 1871, astronomy and geology were dropped from the Elementary Course as required subjects and were scheduled only in the Scientific Course. Logic, English literature and Caesar were added to the Scientific Course. The provision of 1866 that a thesis be required in all courses was again repeated in 1871. These theses at Millersville were essays of ten or fifteen pages on almost any topic of interest in education. They were undocumented papers and were often relatively unscholarly.

Further minor changes were made by the Board of Normal School Principals on December 3, 1873, after studying the preliminary draft of a bill proposed by J. P. Wickersham to increase the authority of the state in the management of the state normal schools. J. V. Montgomery, of the Millersville staff, and a brother-in-law to James P. Wickersham, applauded the action of the Board of Normal School Principals in requiring six months' instruction in free-hand drawing in addition to the ordinary pencil drawing.

Principal Brooks was thoroughly displeased, however, with the action of the principals in striking solid geometry from the minimum normal course of study for the state. He argued that advanced mathematics and Latin fortified the students with the type of scholarship that would be respected by the critics of the normal schools. This attitude toward mathematics is understandable when we realize that Millersville has always had a strong tradition of teaching and writing in mathematics. Professor Brooks wrote an extensive series of mathematics textbooks as did Professors John F. Stoddard, D. M. Sensenig,

and Professor George W. Hull. Professor Brooks was dissatisfied with the failure of the motion to add Latin to the required minimum course. He assured his readers in the *Normal Monthly* that solid geometry had been taught and would continue to be taught at Millersville, and he kept his promise. He also pleaded for the study of Latin as a badge of recognized scholarship and as an aid in the study of English. Fully half the seniors studied Latin at Millersville and some studied Greek under the tutelage of Dr. Andrew R. Byerly.

By 1875 the criticisms leveled at the power of the State Superintendent alone to call meetings of the Board of Normal School Principals for curriculum revision and other activities bore fruit in a Law of 1875, which provided "that a meeting of the principals of the several normal schools, for the purpose of fixing upon a course of study . . . shall be called at Harrisburg by the Superintendent of Public Instruction [formerly designated the Superintendent of Common Schools] whenever he shall deem it necessary, or upon a request to do so, made by three principals of State Normal Schools."

After 1875 a request by three of the nine state normal school principals was sufficient to call a board meeting. Of course, the approval of the State Superintendent was still necessary for all board action to become effective. It should also be remembered that the State Superintendent could not force curricula on the normal schools of the state, and that his powers of positive action in other directions were not as extensive as might be assumed.

In the spring of 1878 the Board of Normal School Principals, meeting at Millersville, adopted the recommendations of a committee of principals that three curricula be put into effect as minimum courses for all the State Normal Schools. As in previous revisions the changes were not basic. The basic branches that had been taught for years and were well known throughout the State were fitted into an elementary course, an advanced course, and a scientific course. After a long agitation by Professor Brooks, Professor J. Willis Westlake, and others, the elements of Latin were finally added to the required minimum state course. State Superintendent Wickersham approved the Elementary Course and the Scientific Course, but did not approve the hybrid advanced course giving as his reasons the following:

> 1. It would break up the system of degrees conferred from the beginning upon the graduates of normal schools.
>
> 2. It would practically destroy the Scientific Course.
>
> 3. It would seem undignified and like trifling with grave matters to graduate a student one year in an Elementary Course, the next in an Advanced Course, and the third in a Scientific Course.
>
> 4. Diplomas granted only a year apart as to time would tend to confuse school officers, and to mislead them as the relative rank of the holders.

In 1886 general history in connection with the history of education was added to the Elementary Course. Twenty-nine chapters of Caesar were to be read in addition to the elements of Latin. Physiology and hygiene were now taught with reference to the effects of alcohol, stimulants, and narcotics, in conformity with the law which required this emphasis in the common schools of the State. Six books of Virgil and four orations of Cicero were added to the Scientific Course, as was also a course of professional reading with abstracts, notes, and criticism to be submitted to the State Board of Examiners.

Thirteen years after State Superintendent Wickersham had vetoed the multiplying of courses, an additional supplementary course was introduced between the Elementary Course and the Scientific Course, both of which remained unchanged. There were no graduates in this course.

During the early eighteen nineties the energetic E. Oram Lyte, who had been appointed to the principalship in 1887, was pushing Millersville ahead on several fronts. A new gymnasium was constructed in 1891 and that was followed by a Library, a Science Building, the enlargement of the dormitories, and other physical projects. Not only were the physical facilities greatly expanded, but the curriculum, also, was extended. The first kindergarten connected with a Pennsylvania State Normal School was established in 1890 at Millersville under the direction of Miss Maude ver Planck, a graduate of the Kindergarten Training Department of Felix Adler's School in New York City. The Lancaster newspapers were generally delighted to point out the achievements of the First State Normal School and to urge it on to greater efforts. In the late eighteen eighties, Millersville was one of the leaders in the introduction of manual training into the normal schools in anticipation of the day when manual training would be introduced into the common schools by legislative enactment. Dr. Lyte proudly explained the recently established and somewhat immature work done in manual training at Millersville to a State Manual Training Conference on December 6, 1888. At that time there were three sections, which devoted two hours per week to the work. The instructor in the Woodworking Course was H. Justin Roddy, a capable and respected geography teacher, who had learned the joiners trade as a young man. From that small start the department gradually grew and developed in 1930 into one of the two centers for the training of industrial arts teachers in the state.

Directly after the completion of the gymnasium in 1891, courses in physical culture were introduced. Dr. Lyte displayed the enthusiasm of a faddist over the gymnastic developments at Millersville[2]

2 Dr. Lyte always prided himself on his prowess as a baseball player in the 1860's and frequently referred to it. He was equally proud of his Civil War record as a lieutenant of infantry.

under A. D. Pinkham, a graduate of Bates College and a student of Dr. Sargent's system of Physical Culture as practiced at Harvard University, and under A. Belle Fleming, a student of Dr. Anderson of the Adelphi Academy Gymnasium in Brooklyn. In the early years, the instructors at Millersville were quick to see the possibility of advancing physical culture by showmanship in the presentation of gymnastic exhibitions.

The early years of Dr. Lyte's administration as principal were productive of change and growth. His introduction of the kindergarten into the Model School was judged to be a good practice in other normal schools. Manual training and physical culture were added to the mandated minimum curriculum of all normal schools in the state soon after they were adopted at Millersville.

The Model School had been the special pride of the Millersville authorities ever since 1855. It was widely recognized in Pennsylvania as a successful school for the training of teachers and its superintendents and assistant superintendents were regarded as men and women of importance. They had studied their art at Colonel Parker's famous Cook County Normal School and at other reputable institutions. As an indication of the caliber of the men who held the position of Superintendent of the Model School, it should be pointed out that Dr. Maltby in the 1890's was advanced to the principalship of the Slippery Rock State Normal School directly from the Millersville Model School, and that P. M. Harbold advanced from the Model School to the superintendency of the Lancaster City Public Schools and then to the principalship at Millersville.

The Model School was improved in the early years of Dr. Lyte's principalship by the assigning of additional critic teachers. By 1891 eight teachers were employed in the Model School, four of whom devoted their entire time to the work in this school. The importance attached to the Model School can be judged partly from the fact that a large and well-equipped Model School and School of Practice building was erected in 1900.

Dr. Lyte was an energetic administrator who was interested in a large enrollment and also a high standard of scholarship and professional competence in his graduates. His words and acts were sometimes at variance, simply because there was sometimes, of necessity, a wide gap between the theory of a normal school and the practice that was forced upon it. Dr. Lyte was continually pleading for better scholarship, and yet the possibility that there might be a decreased enrollment led him openly to advertise for dull students to fill up the ranks of students who drew free tuition from the state after 1901. In one of these appeals Dr. Lyte wrote:

> It sometimes happens that our graduates advise their bright students to come to Millersville but send their dull students elsewhere. Let us say that we want well-behaved

> students, whether bright or not . . . We shall be glad to receive all other kinds. Often the so-called slow student increases his speed here and becomes a credit to all his teachers.

On another occasion, recognizing the competition from the growing high schools, Dr. Lyte stretched the bounds of psychology when he stated that "so-called dull students are not in all cases dull. Often they simply learn more slowly than others, but they learn as thoroughly." This, of course, an experienced teacher might seriously debate. Dr. Lyte's point was not an academic one; it was a matter of securing students to fill the Normal School. A careful reading of the many principals' reports indicated that numbers of students were uniformly regarded as a measure of success of the particular school. This was as true of Millersville as any other school. Measured by the standards of size, Millersville was a success in the period of Lyte's administration. It was also a scholastic success in spite of the competition for students that was forced upon it.

In order to keep up the enrollment, a variety of courses beyond the minimum courses required by law were taught at Millersville and in most of the other schools. Although Millersville had stressed vocal and piano music from the beginning in 1855, it was not until the administration of Dr. Lyte that special series of courses in vocal music and instrumental music were set up. The Catalog of 1889-1890 specifically stated that because of the "growing demand" for teachers of vocal and instrumental music (not necessarily in the public schools), two-year courses of study in vocal and instrumental music were organized. These were courses beyond the state requirements and were clearly not designed for the public schools which were not particularly interested in Italian songs and the special study in arpeggios. These courses appeared to be primarily a device to keep up the enrollment. Millersville, in accordance with the practice of a number of other normal schools, gradually expanded the old and well-established bookkeeping course and added thereto typewriting and business correspondence in 1890. The following year the emphasis was placed on training for thought as well as to prepare skilled accountants. This was the beginning of a vocational business course, which a few years later included preparatory and advanced shorthand and was advertised in bold letters as a business course. Students did not graduate from this course in the ordinary sense of completing the elementary teachers' course with business as an extra series of subjects.

For many years the Normal School advertised a course in practical chemistry as preparation for the study of medicine. A number of students pursued the course and continued the study of medicine in Philadelphia and elsewhere.

Millersville in 1894 listed a classical and college preparatory course, in addition to the state approved courses, and advertised six

instructors in the department. Millersville did well in the competition for students and in the year 1895 sent more students to college than any other normal school. Even though Millersville in the 1890's was, comparatively speaking, a large school in numbers,[3] indicating success in the competition for students, there are strong indications that its standards of scholarship were comparatively high. Millersville, before the turn of the century, graduated fewer students per hundred enrolled than any other state normal school in the state.

The normal schools of Pennsylvania had been repeatedly criticized for not sufficiently stressing the professional branches. In a series of articles in the Pennsylvania School Journal, William Noetling, the vice-president of the Pennsylvania Teachers Association in 1889, took the Normal Schools to task for their lack of professional courses. Dr. Lyte attempted to combat these criticisms in a practical manner and in a few years greatly multiplied the number of methods courses. There were methods courses in every major study. In 1892 there were sixteen members of the faculty teaching methods or other pedagogical courses. He met part of the criticisms, at least in form. Normal school teachers who had taught academically for many years were suddenly confronted with methods courses, which presumably not all were so suddenly qualified to teach. Dr. Lyte advertised his school with enthusiasm and it is possible that these changes in a professional direction helped to quiet some of the criticism as it concerned Millersville. By 1907 some of the faculty members were beginning to wonder whether the school might shorten the methods courses "with great profit to our school."

Dr. Lyte had seven years time in which to revise the curricula at Millersville before any drastic revisions were made by the Board of Normal School Principals in 1894. Minor revisions had occurred in 1891 and 1893. The big change in 1894 was essentially only a theoretical change. The Board of Normal School Principals, in violation of the previous strongly worded advice from Superintendent Wickersham in 1878, proceeded to multiply courses on a grand scale. Four courses were set up and approved by the recently appointed Superintendent of Public Instruction, Nathan C. Schaeffer. The two-year Elementary Course of study remained largely as it was outlined in 1886, except that there was more emphasis on the teaching of the common branches. There was a strong desire on the part of the principals to make the schools more professional, and with that in view they designed a Regular Normal Course of three years which included the Elementary Course plus one year of additional study. This new curriculum increased the reading requirements in pro-

[3] In 1895 Millersville had a faculty of 21 men and 19 women, a student body of 860, a Model School with 263 students, and was in all respects the largest Normal School in the state.

fessional education. This course also included Latin (Caesar, Cicero, Virgil), solid geometry, plane and analytical trigonometry, surveying, chemistry, including the chemistry of soils, zoology, geology, and higher English and American literature, including the minute dissective study of four classics. It is obvious that the above named studies to be completed in the recommended one year would require more than the four or five branches per day usually required of high school students and would result in the formidable student schedules for which the normal schools became noted. Eight and nine branches per day were not uncommon and caused some of the normal school principals themselves to charge the schools with superficiality in the attempt to cover too wide a range of academic subject matter. The Regular Normal Course did not have the impact on the teaching profession that was anticipated since only twenty students graduated in that course in its entire existence of ten years.

The Scientific Course included the studies of the Regular Normal Course plus an additional year of pedagogics, advanced Latin, (or an equivalent of Greek, German or French), higher algebra, spherical trigonometry and surveying, analytical geometry, and differential and integral calculus, higher natural philosophy (physics), descriptive and mathematical astronomy, English history, Greek history, and Roman history. The mathematical studies were preeminent during the first fifty-five years of the institution's history, and even though important improvements and expansions were effected in the science department, the mathematics department continued to hold a strong position until after the turn of the century. The mathematics of the Scientific Course would be found in the freshman and sophomore years of a science course in a college of today.

An advanced Normal Course of five years completed the list of courses adopted by the Board of Normal School Principals in December of 1894. In this Course it was proposed to study the writings of Rein, James, Herbart, Spencer, Romini, Froebel, Pestalozzi, Dr. Arnold, Horace Mann, and others. Unfortunately the effectiveness of the course could not be determined, for there were no graduates from any of the state normal schools. It remained a theoretical course. Most of the students at Millersville continued to receive a large part of their basic pedagogical ideas from textbooks such as Brooks' *Mental Science,* Brooks' *Methods of Teaching,* Parker's *Talks on Teaching,* Wickersham's *School Economy,* Rosenkranz's *Philosophy of Education,* and Haven's *Moral Science* rather than from the original sources.

In 1900 the Board of Normal School Principals again revised the normal school courses. A minimum course of three years, known as the Regular Course (as differentiated from the Regular Normal 1896-1902), was agreed upon by the principals assembled in Harrisburg on November 8, 1900, and approved by State Superintendent Nathan

C. Schaeffer on January 9, 1901. The new three-year course had been discussed by the Millersville Faculty in advance of its adoption by the principals and the faculty was agreeable to the change. As Professor Lyte explained the new course to the faculty, it was essentially the two-year course expanded to three years with chemistry, zoology, geology, solid geometry, more English and American literature, and more Latin added to the course. There was somewhat more of an emphasis on science and this point was mentioned by the State Superintendent when he said:

> This is the most important step of progress which the system had made in forty years. It will bring the standard of graduation more fully into accord with that of the more progressive States and will stir the graduates to give more satisfactory instruction in what is now growing popular under the name of Nature Study.

A new feature of the curriculum adopted in 1900 was the supplementary courses offered in preparation for the new degrees of bachelor of pedagogics and master of pedagogics. A modest reading course prescribed by the Board of Normal School Principals was required for the degree of Bachelor of Pedagogics. An examination by the faculty and the State Board of Examiners was required. However, the supplementary work could be, and generally was, done in absentia. For the master of pedagogics degree, two years of teaching beyond the Regular Course and a course in reading followed by examinations at the hands of the faculty and State Board of Examiners were required. As with the bachelors degree, the work could be done in absentia.

The former degrees of bachelor of the elements, master of the elements, bachelor of the sciences, and master of the sciences were discontinued with the introduction of the new degrees. The new degrees were still of a secondary level, and even with the improved requirements, rapidly lost prestige, in view of the fact that normal colleges with bona fide collegiate degrees came into evidence in the first decade of the new century.

In 1907 the bachelor of pedagogy degree received no special recognition in other states and was sometimes viewed critically at home. Part of the criticism arose from the fact that there were no entrance requirements for admission to state normal schools in Pennsylvania beyond the requirements of a "fair knowledge" of the branches taught in the common schools. This contrasted with Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Jersey, Indiana, and other states that required high school graduation. One of the principals recommended abolishing the secondary degrees in the normal schools, but his recommendation was not followed until 1915 when all Pennsylvania State Normal School degrees were abolished.

When new courses were adopted in 1900 requiring a minimum of three years for graduation, one of the first concerns of Principal Lyte and even of State Superintendent Schaeffer was the effects on attendance in the state normal schools. Dr. Lyte was as concerned about this problem as any of his associates. The normal schools were very much in competition with each other for students. Bloomsburg and West Chester gave special examinations away from home and gave students credit on the normal course for the studies they passed. Thus students were not discouraged from pursuing the longer three-year course. Millersville, to protect its interests in a large student body, followed suit. Abuse of the practice led to its abolition. Academic standards were also sometimes impaired by the almost universal practice of allowing some students to take two years of work in one year or, at least, of allowing students to pursue extra subjects up to a total program of eight or nine a day. There is, however, ample evidence that Millersville held the practice within defensible limits.

A PERIOD OF UNCERTAINTY, 1900-1920

The period from 1900 to 1920 was a difficult time for the state normal schools. One of the reasons for the difficulty was the growth of the borough and city high schools and after 1895 the rise and growth of township high schools with state encouragement. The better high schools were, in some cases, offering the same type of academic preparation as the normal schools. In spite of the fact that the normal school principals generally tried to convince themselves that they were not in competition with the high schools, their arguments did not appear to ring true. They sometimes argued that subjects in the normal schools were taught with the specific aim of teaching them and that therefore the academic preparation in a high school and in a normal school were different. Both high school principals and normal school principals were interested in total enrollments. The high schools were encouraged in their growth by Superintendent Schaeffer and of necessity received the blessing of the Board of Normal School Principals. While the high schools grew in numbers and total enrollment, the normal schools did not appear to be able to determine just where they themselves would fit into the public school picture. The normal school officials appeared to be floundering and were in some cases desperately groping for a solution. The facts in the case seem to warrant the opinion that the normal school officials and the Superintendent of Public Instruction were not sufficiently flexible in spirit to adjust themselves rapidly to the changes that had been thrust upon them.

One of the partial solutions to the problem of the relations between the high schools and the normal schools would have been to require graduation from at least a third class (ninth and tenth grades) high school for admission to a state normal school. That

would probably have meant a temporary decline in the normal school enrollments, but the normal schools, as largely private institutions, were not prepared to accept that prospect. Neither did the payment by the State of $1.50 per week for all teacher candidates encourage the normal schools to yield on the point of a large enrollment. Apparently none of the schools wanted to be smaller institutions. Dr. Lyte was advocating that the normal schools should become strictly professional schools, but he made no move to give up his special courses, which would have resulted in a smaller enrollment. Neither did he take a firm stand on admission requirements, although it must be said in his favor that Millersville in 1910, according to Dr. Holland, had more high school graduates enrolled than any other state normal school in the state.

Dr. Theodore B. Noss, Principal of the California State Normal School, presented a reasonable program of action to the assembled principals. He believed that as rapidly as possible the state, by further legislative enactment, should extend to all pupils the privilege of a secondary education. The next step would be the requirement of high school graduation for entrance to the normal schools as in Connecticut and Massachusetts. Further steps, he believed, would logically be the professionalization of the normal schools and the raising of standards.

Dr. Noss did not mention one of the basic keys to the problem of raising the state normal schools to a professional level. No great improvement could result in normal school standards until there were sufficient applicants attracted to the state normal schools to make admission a selective procedure. That could hardly be done as long as the prosperous industrial commonwealth insisted on paying its teachers sub-standard salaries. The second minimum salary law of 1907, providing minima of $40 to $50 per month, was a step in the right direction, but it did not proceed far enough. It seems evident that the solution to the problem did not and could not rest entirely with the confused normal school principals who were faced with many factors beyond their control. Superintendent Schaeffer was not ready to require high school graduation for admission to the state normal schools. He did not appear to be of much help to the state normal schools in finding their proper place and there is a further suspicion that he did not wish to be too far in advance on an unsettled issue between the high schools, which were gaining in popularity, and the state normal schools which were not gaining in popularity.

For ten years and more, after 1900, the principals were very much concerned with an evaluation of high school credits for admission to the normal schools. In these evaluations the high schools often did not receive full credit for their work, and they not infrequently resented the evaluations made by the normal school authorities on a strict basis of normal school courses. It was very generally the rule at

Millersville and elsewhere that a pupil entering the normal school directly from the grade schools could gain a year, and sometimes two years, over the student who graduated from the high school. In other words, a student entering from the common school could graduate from the normal school in three years while a student graduating from a third class (ninth and tenth grades) high school would require four years of secondary schooling to graduate from the normal schools. Principals were sometimes accused of inducing pupils to come to the normal school instead of the local high school, and apparently with considerable truth.[4]

Individual principals saw the contradictory situations and quite openly admitted the difficulties of the state normal schools' situation. Dr. Noss, Principal of the California State Normal School, saw the state normal school picture as clearly and as fairly as anyone and seemed to have a better long range perspective than most of his colleagues and the State Superintendent, N. C. Schaeffer. When the revision of the normal course was again under serious and direct consideration in 1909, the principals were not ready as a body to follow the example of admittedly "more progressive states" and the advice of the more progressive principals in demanding high school graduation from at least a second class (ninth, tenth, eleventh grades) or third class (ninth and tenth grades) high school.

In 1908 Dr. Lyte and his committee of principals reported a new four-year course, but the Board of Principals postponed action because of the uncertainty over the school code that was to be presented to the Legislature. A year later (1909), Dr. Lyte again brought up the matter of the new course of study. In the course of his presentation he said, "I cannot believe there is any one of us who does not realize that we are behind the times, and does not want to do something to make our schools worthy of the confidence that has been placed in them." The principals were not challenged into action until April 20, 1910, when they finally approved the four-year course of study. State Superintendent Nathan C. Schaeffer approved the new course on May 4, 1910.

THE FOUR YEAR NORMAL COURSE, 1910

First Year

	No. of 60-Minute Periods
Algebra	120
Latin	120
School Management and Law	120

4 Theodore B. Noss, "How Can We Better Cooperate with the High Schools," *Proceedings of the Board of Normal School Principals,* 1908, pp. 9-10. Dr. Noss said, "Our Normal Schools should not be made a means or instrument for abolishing the high school stage in the educational process of any one. Our only excuse for doing this is that we are paid for it, and that we need the money, but this is not a sufficient reason." This referred to the $1.50 per week that was paid by the State to teacher candidates.

Orthography	30
Reading and Public Speaking	40
Ancient and Mediaeval History	80
Physical Geography	40
Arithmetic	80
Grammar	120
Vocal Music	40
Physical Training	60
Manual Training and Domestic Science	40

Second Year

	No. of 60-Minute Periods
Plane Geometry	120
Rhetoric, Composition, Classics	120
Botany	80
Zoology	40
Book-keeping	40
Modern History and English History	80
Caesar	120
General Methods	120
Drawing	80
Physical Training	60
Manual Training and Domestic Science	40

Third Year

	No. of 60-Minute Periods
Psychology and Observation	120
Cicero, German or French	120
Literature, English and American	80
History, U. S. and Civics	60
Geography	60
Physiology and School Sanitation	60
Solid Geometry and Trigonometry	120
Methods in History and Geography	80
Physics	120
Physical Training	60

Fourth Year

	No. of 60-Minute Periods
Practice Teaching	120
History of Education	80
Agriculture and Nature Study	80
Arithmetic	40
Grammar	40
Methods in Arithmetic and Grammar	80
Virgil, German and French	120
Public Speaking	40
Chemistry	120

Drawing	40
Manual Training or Domestic Science	40
Physical Training	60

Substitutions for languages and mathematics in the third and fourth years were permitted. State Board Examinations were required of all students every year.

The so-called new course of study in 1910 did not bring about any serious changes. Dr. Holland, who studied the normal schools of Pennsylvania in 1910, stated:

> The revised course has 2,750 hours for high school subjects and 540 for common school branches, and 990 left for professional study, or 23 per cent of the entire time.
>
> These figures lead to the conclusion that the new course of study is not an improvement over the old one. In fact, no radical change has been made: the additional year has simply proportionately increased the time devoted to each phase of the work.

The entrance requirements were still set at a "fair knowledge" of the branches taught in the common schools, plus elementary algebra to quadratics. A test by the faculty was required. With the approval of Dr. Schaeffer, graduates of first class high schools (four years) were admitted to the third year, graduates of the second class high schools (grades 9, 10, and 11) were admitted to the second year and graduates of third class high schools (grades 9 and 10) were admitted to the first year without examinations. It is quite evident that the obstacle that an eighth grade graduate had to surmount for entrance was an examination by the faculty. Graduation from even a third class high school was not required. Whether or not he passed the examination would be somewhat dependent upon the enrollment prospects.

Dr. Noss believed that high school graduates were penalized by one to two years, in view of the fact that a graduate of a four-year high school was required to spend a minimum of two years in attendance at a state normal school to acquire a diploma. A grade school graduate who passed the entrance examination spent four years at the state normal school, thus possibly saving two years. There were efforts made at some of the state normal schools to reduce this apparent discrimination against the high schools by permitting superior students to carry more than a normal schedule or by evaluating equivalent credits liberally. P. M. Harbold, Principal of the Millersville State Normal School from 1912 to 1918, strove earnestly to require high schood graduation, even if only from a third class high school. His far-sighted judgment very possibly had something to do with the slight advance that was made when the Board of Normal School Principals decided to accept no high school credits unless the student had graduated from the high school in his district.

Dr. Harbold strove seriously to raise the standards at Millersville and to advance the admission requirements, but in his attempt to raise admission requirements the majority of principals did not support him. A motion by Dr. Harbold to require four years of high school work for admission to the state normal schools was voted down by seven to four. Even the plan to require new entrants to present fifteen units of secondary credit or to make them up at the normal school before beginning the normal course was turned down by eight to five. The Faculty at Millersville approved a separate two-year course (as contrasted with two years of a four-year course) for graduates of first class high schools but nothing came of the suggestion.

The last ten years of Dr. Schaeffer's superintendency (1909-1919) appeared to be a period of increasing conservatism. The principals likewise decided by a vote of six to five to refrain from "radical changes" in the war period. The four-year course adopted in 1910 with a few minor changes—such as the addition of rural school management as an elective—remained in force until the Finegan era of 1919-1923. Individual schools, as had long been the custom, offered courses beyond the minimum state requirements that they thought would attract students, add prestige to the institution, or be generally useful. Soon after Miss Helen Ganser was appointed to the position of librarian a course was offered on the Use of Books and Libraries. Courses of this type had previously been offered, however, at Slippery Rock State Normal School. Also, in response to the concern of Dr. J. George Becht and others about the rural school teacher, Dr. Harbold at Millersville instituted courses in rural sociology and rural school management for the benefit of the long neglected rural teachers. Dr. Schaeffer in 1916 approved of this type of specialization.

Dr. Harbold seemed to be particularly alert to the problems that faced his school and proceeded to work toward a solution in an undramatic fashion. (In this respect he differed from Dr. Lyte, his predecessor.) As we have already seen, Dr. Harbold was working toward a solution of the problems arising out of high school-normal school relations in the Board of Principals. At Millersville he appointed and encouraged committees on high school relations. He encouraged high schools to establish friendly contacts with the Normal School through athletics and literary events sponsored by the Normal School.

During the first World War, Millersville was selected to train seventy men in a Student Army Training Program. The Faculty voted unanimously for the project in view of the fact that the enrollment was down to the lowest level in fifty years.

REVISION AND EXPANSION UNDER STATE CONTROL

The period of conservatism associated with the last years of the tenure of State Superintendent Nathan C. Schaeffer came to an end

in 1919. The new governor, William C. Sproul, recognized the somewhat retarded condition of education in Pennsylvania under the congenial Reverend Schaeffer, and upon his death appointed to the important office of Superintendent of Public Instruction a New Yorker with a long and honorable record of effort and achievement. Dr. Thomas E. Finegan assumed office in 1919 and promptly proceeded to define the educational problems of the rich Commonwealth. His appointment seemed to be well received by the educators of the State, and Governor Sproul gave his new Superintendent the backing he needed. Dr. Finegan assumed office in the post war period of unrest and uncertainty. It was a period of change and perhaps as suitable for change in education as any time in the previous twenty years.

It was believed by many prominent educators, including Dean Walsh of the Indiana State Normal School, that one of the most serious weaknesses of the Pennsylvania educational structure was the low minimum standards for beginning teachers. It was still possible in 1920 for a prospective teacher to secure from the county superintendent a provisional teaching certificate by passing examinations in spelling, reading, physiology, hygiene, geography, English, grammar, arithmetic, elementary algebra, history of the United States and Pennsylvania, civil government, school management, and methods of teaching. Such examinations might be oral and superficial. No real progress could be made in curriculum revision for the state normal schools until such practices were abolished. This was done under Superintendent Finegan's leadership. Dr. Noss recognized the "abominable provisional certificate" as a stumbling block in the path of curriculum revision in the state normal schools as early as 1904, and insisted that it existed largely because the Board of Normal School Principals did nothing about it.

Dr. Finegan recognized the limitations of teacher training and attacked the problem in a logical manner. His legislative program included several angles of attack. Salaries were to be raised to attract a higher grade of prospective teacher. Standards in state normal schools were to be raised to collegiate levels. Certification was to be taken out of the hands of the county superintendents, who were subject to effective local pressures to admit unqualified teachers to the ranks by way of the seventy-five year old provisional certificates. Teachers were to be given reasonable means and opportunities to acquire higher qualifications. The Edmonds Act of 1921, which incorporated provisions for putting into effect the program outlined above, was regarded by Dean M. J. Walsh of the Indiana State Teachers College as probably the most important piece of public school legislation ever passed by any legislative body in America in one session.

Dr. Finegan was appointed at the end of the legislative session of 1919 and the next Legislature was not to meet until 1921, thus giving

the State Superintendent almost two years to prepare a legislative program. In the meantime, he lost no time in taking such action as could be effective without legislative enactments. In January of 1920 he called the normal school principals to Harrisburg to formulate plans of reorganization on the following basis:

1. That the faculties shall be reorganized and such members as are inefficient or ineffective should be relieved as quickly as possible without undue hardship or injustice.

2. Suitable salary schedules should be set up so as to attract instructors competent to handle new curricula of a collegiate level.

3. Plans for improved administration, financing, and plant expansion were to be formulated.

4. That a two-year minimum professional course in the state normal schools should be based on graduation from an approved four-year high school.

A committee was promptly set up to revise the curriculum. The members of the Board of Principals were very much impressed with the decisiveness of the new Superintendent, who appeared to be setting the course instead of drifting with the current.

Between January and March 23, 1920, the committee of principals had formulated four separate curricula, which were promptly approved by the Board of Principals and by State Superintendent Finegan. Two-year courses based on a four-year high school graduation were provided in the following fields: Kindergarten and Grades One, Two, Three; Intermediate Grades Four, Five, Six; Junior High School Grades Seven, Eight, Nine; Rural. All of these courses were prepared with the professional advice of Dean Frank P. Graves, School of Education, University of Pennsylvania; Dean W. G. Chambers of the University of Pittsburgh; and Professor W. G. Bagley of Teachers College, Columbia University. The courses also followed rather closely the recommendations of the Carnegie Report for the Advancement of Teaching. In these courses the first semester was common to all of them and is given in full:

	Periods of 1 hour	Semester Hours
Introduction to Teaching	4	3
English Fundamentals	3	3
English Composition	2	2
Nature Study	3	2
Art	4	2
Handwriting	2	1
Personal & School Hygiene	2	2
Health Education	3	1½
Elective	3	3
	26	19½

In the second semester of work the teaching of arithmetic, geography and history at the appropriate levels was taught in all the groups. Psychology and Child Study, three semester hours; English Composition, two semester hours; Oral Expression, two semester hours; and Health Education, one and one-half semester hours were common to all the groups. Special kindergarten theory was taught in group one. Three semester hours of electives were permitted in each group.

In the third semester, ten hours per week of student teaching for a semester was required of all the students, as was also one and one-half semester hours of Health Education. The teaching of reading, composition, and oral expression at appropriate levels was required in all except the Junior High School Group. School Efficiency, three semester hours, was taught in all the groups except the Rural. Three to six semester hours of electives were required.

In the fourth semester, History and Principles of Education, four semester hours; Health Education, one and one-half semester hours; Citizenship, two semester hours; Music, two semester hours, were common to all the courses. Literature and reading at appropriate levels were taught in all the groups except the Rural. Industrial arts was taught in group one, Prevocational Education in group two, and Agriculture, Rural School Problems and Rural Sociology in group four. Three to nine semester hours of electives were required.

The limited electives were such as could be amply justified on a professional basis. A limited emphasis on science was evident in the electives offered, but the social studies had not yet achieved prominence. The arts suitable to the work at hand were represented in limited forms.

A comparison of the new groups of studies with previous curricula indicates some drastic changes. In fact the revisions of 1920 were the first real changes since 1855. A decided professional emphasis replaced the academic stress of previous years. The previous emphasis on Latin, Greek, and Mathematics was nowhere evident. The opinion still prevails among some highly respectable educators that for a time the trend was too sharply away from a substantial academic basis. The Catalog no longer listed the special courses in business, music, and other subjects designed largely to attract students. The last state normal school had been bought by the state in this very same year (1920) of the first drastic curriculum revision. It should be emphasized that all the work was on a collegiate level, in the sense that all students were required to be secondary school graduates or the equivalent. Greek in the normal school died with the private normal school. Latin barely survived. Advanced mathematics courses were abandoned entirely for the time being. The new oral expression was a wide departure from the artificiality of the elocution that Amanda Landes taught for many years. The tenth and eleventh grades of the Model School at Millersville were abandoned on the advice of the State

Department of Public Instruction.

Adjustments to the new order were not achieved suddenly, but the fact that the period after the first World War was one of flux helped the normal school reorientation in some respects. At Millersville a number of strong, respected, and influential nineteenth-century teachers—Dr. Hull, Miss Lyle, Miss Gilbert, Miss Landes, Miss Myers—passed off the scene and were replaced, as Dr. Finegan suggested, by teachers who were more in harmony with the new age.

The basic changes in the normal school curricula already described occurred before the Edmonds Act was passed by the Legislature in 1921. This important Act transferred all certification to the State Department of Public Instruction.[5] Appropriations to the normal schools were increased by about one and a half million dollars, making possible reasonable salary schedules. It further provided that after September 1, 1927, the minimum qualifications for beginning teachers in every district of the state would be two years of approved training beyond a four-year high school. With all these provisions written in the laws of the Commonwealth, the task of curriculum revision was greatly simplified.

Teachers who were not normal school graduates and who could not qualify for the advantages held out by the Edmonds Act were given every opportunity to become normal school graduates without undue hardship. To enter the normal schools, experienced teachers were given three high school units for every year of successful experience. They could earn additional high school credits by correspondence, extension, and summer courses or by tutoring under approved conditions. In addition, such experienced teachers were given five semester hours of normal school credit for every year of teaching, beyond the years counted for admission credit, up to a maximum credit of thirty-two semester hours. Dr. Finegan decided that deserving teachers should not have too many obstacles thrown in their paths and should be encouraged to improve themselves by the use of liberal credit for experience and training.

So as not to cause too much opposition by abruptly improved standards, recent high school graduates were permitted to begin teaching with a minimum of eight semester hours of credit per year until 1927. These liberal provisions prevented a serious reaction against the Finegan Program and swamped the normal schools with summer and extension students. Millersville did not share extensively in the extension program, but the school made a contribution to the Finegan Program by means of the summer school which had originally been organized by Principal Harbold.

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5 Credits now replaced all forms of examinations for certification. This in itself was not an unmixed blessing, for credits based on poor work could now be used for certification. Certification requirements were, and continue to be, quantitative rather than qualitative.

Soon after the adoption of the four basic curricula in 1920, provision was made by the Department of Public Instruction for the establishment of courses in the specialized fields of art, commercial education, health education, home economics, music, and teacher-librarian. Assignments were made on the basis of facilities and equipment. Millersville was selected to present a fifteen semester hour Teacher-Librarian Course under the direction of Miss Helen A. Ganser. The work in this field at Millersville has become widely recognized and respected in Pennsylvania. The course was taught at first in connection with the Junior High School group, the teacher-librarian work being regarded as elective.

In 1922 the Board of Normal School Principals proposed a new three-year course for the training of junior high school teachers. Dean Homer Dilworth of Millersville, substituting for Dr. Gordinier, objected to the three-year course, and favored a program of two years. Dr. Gordinier, Principal of Millersville, also objected to the attempt of the State Department to deprive two-year graduates of the class of 1921 of the right to teach in high schools. In spite of the Millersville protest the proposed three-year course was adopted and approved. Specialized subjects in the junior high school field were included, among which were: Purpose, Organization, and Development of the Junior High School; Health and Hygiene in the Junior High School; Tests and Measurements; and Guidance. Practice in teaching was increased to fifteen hours per week. However, the academic subject matter remained somewhat limited. The professional emphasis was very strong and may have proceeded too far in the direction of how to teach rather than what to teach. The principals as a group, however, appeared to be satisfied with the current emphasis and only one objected to the scanty treatment of mathematics.

By resolution of the Board of Normal School Principals in March of 1925, State Superintendent Francis B. Haas was requested to appoint a committee to revise the normal school curricula. The membership of the committee consisted of Principal J. Linwood Eisenberg of Slippery Rock, Principal T. T. Allen of East Stroudsburg, Principal John A. H. Keith of Indiana, and Henry Klonower, Director of the Teachers Bureau. The committee proceeded to study the problem in the following manner as described by the chairman:

> 1. General Information: Current practices as shown by college and university studies and surveys.
>
> 2. The Staff of the Department of Public Instruction: The committee requested fourteen staff members representing as many departments and interests to submit their views on curriculum revision in writing and also to appear before the committee personally.
>
> 3. Pennsylvania State Normal School Faculties: Sixteen

representatives of departments were elected by the Faculty Conference that met at Lock Haven. Reports on the specialties represented were submitted and supplemented by personal appearances.

4. Recent Normal Graduates: Ten members of each class for the last five years of every State Normal School were asked to answer a questionnaire relative to the needs of recent graduates. Eighty per cent replied.

5. County and District Superintendents: Questions on curriculum revision went out to all district and county superintendents from the office of the State Superintendent, but only fifty per cent replied.

6. Outside Organizations: The State Parent Teachers Association and the Girl Scouts Association were consulted.

7. Specialists in the Normal School and Teachers College field were consulted.

The study was somewhat hurriedly made by a group of four executives who hardly had time to carefully tabulate and digest all the written reports and questionnaires. They were, however, competent men whose judgement was respected and whose work was accepted as sound by the Board of Normal School Principals, the State Superintendent, and leading educators. It was the conclusion of the committee that two-year prescribed curricula should be indefinitely continued in the three following areas: Group I, Kindergarten, and Grades One, Two, and Three; Group II, Intermediate Grades Four, Five, and Six; and Group IV, Rural. It was also decided to outline a two-year course to follow any one of the three above and which would lead to the degree of Bachelor of Science in Elementary Education. A new four-year Junior High School Curriculum leading to the Bachelor of Science degree was formulated, as was also a new independent four-year curriculum in elementary education to be pursued as prescribed. Brief tentative outlines were prepared for various branches with the recommendation that more detailed outlines be prepared by the faculties in conference.

At the time of the appointment of the General Curricular Revision Committee, a special committee of five principals was appointed to revise the curricula in the fields of Art, Business, Health, Home Economics and Music. The five principals appointed to the revision project worked individually with their own specialized faculties. These special four-year curricula were formulated under handicaps since only one faculty participated in the work of each field. It was recommended that the special curricula, after approval by the General Committee and the State Superintendent, be put into force only after the State Council of Education had granted degree status to the individual normal schools. In the meantime the three-year special curricula would continue.

In accordance with the Edmonds Act of 1921, the new State Council of Education in 1926 recognized eight normal schools for degree status in one or more courses. Millersville acquired degree-granting status in 1927. Its bid for special curricula in music, art, health education, and domestic science was rejected. The State Council of Education after an inspection of Millersville by James N. Rule, Henry Klonower, and Charles E. Dickey on April 8, 1927, approved the granting of Bachelor of Science degrees in elementary education and secondary education but not in any of the specialized fields. Library Training was regarded as an elective part of the secondary curriculum.

Millersville was officially designated a State Teachers College in June of 1928 when the first collegiate Bachelor of Science degrees in its history were conferred. Two years later the American Association of Teachers Colleges classified Millersville as a Class A School. It was in that same year of 1930 that the Department of Public Instruction gave permission for special instruction in industrial arts at Millersville. Dr. Keith allotted $5,500 for the purpose of starting the program. In spite of the small allocation, the Industrial Arts division prospered under Professor Edward Howard and Dr. B. N. Osburn. The training course for librarians was advanced from a set of electives in the secondary curriculum to the status of a special curriculum under the directorship of Miss Helen Ganser.

The General Curricular Revision Committee was retained with a slight change in membership. It supervised an almost continuous process of curriculum revision and in 1932 published the outlines of all the regular courses prepared by twelve faculty committees in a 440-page book. This provided excellent practice in cooperative effort.

The Board of State Teachers College Presidents, with the State Superintendent as chairman, remained by law the policy making body for the state teachers colleges and any action of the Board was binding on all the schools when that action was approved by the Superintendent of Public Instruction. The Board operates through committees and has always had a committee on curriculum revision, designated the Curricular and Credentials Committee since 1939. The work of the Board of State Teachers College Presidents and its committees on curricular revision since 1928 is treated in a detailed manner in a doctor's dissertation written by Harvey A. Andruss, President of Bloomsburg State Teachers College, and to a lesser extent the same subject is dealt with in George W. Neel's *History of the State Teachers College at Edinboro.* In view of this coverage it may suffice to say that at Millersville the two-year courses were continued in one form or another for a limited state standard certificate until 1940; that there was no need to change the basic curricula to adjust to special war needs because the housing of defense workers was the only direct

contribution to the war effort in the 1940's; that Millersville, under the friendly and cooperative administration of President D. L. Biemesderfer,[6] comes closer to the achievement of the curricular philosophy promulgated by the faculty than is generally the case; and that in 1951 Millersville was accepted as an approved member of the Middle States Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools. The revisions of the recent years indicate a commendable movement toward a more substantial academic preparation of secondary school teachers. The selection of professors with scholarly backgrounds and interests, tempered with suitable experience, is likewise commendable.

A significant contribution made by the Millersville State Teachers College falls into the co-curricular field of activity. The regular curricula are uniform for all the state teachers colleges and do not admit of basic changes in the individual colleges.

In the critical year of 1933, Dr. Paul G. Chandler organized the Millersville Film Library as a cooperative enterprise. The by-laws of the film library provided for an organization based on school membership. Every school wishing to become a member paid thirty-five dollars for the purchase of one sixteen millimeter educational film or in lieu of a cash payment the applicant could deposit one acceptable teaching film for general circulation. Members were assessed the equivalent of half a film every year to maintain and expand the library. Contributions and a limited number of rental films (Coronet) that were eventually bought out of rentals also helped to expand the library. The basic plans have changed very little since 1933, but fees and other arrangements necessitated by advancing costs, the emphasis on sound films, and other factors, have resulted in adjustments to keep the film library in a position to render a needed service. Dr. Chandler rendered a commendable service in promoting the film library that he established. He traveled extensively at his own expense to bring to the attention of boards of education and parent-teachers organizations the service that the new cooperative library could render. At first the parent-teacher groups were more receptive to the new venture than were the boards of education, which appeared to be more conservative.

When Dr. Chandler left Millersville (1937) to assume his new office of President of the Clarion State Teachers College, the Millersville Film Library had been accepted, even though its growth had not been spectacular. Since 1937 the services of the library have been considerably expanded and have become known and used far beyond the confines of the second normal school district. An estimate of the service rendered may be gained from the fact that more than thirty-six thousand films were circulated from 1943 to 1950.

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6 *The Report of the Commission on Higher Education of the Middle States Association,* April, 1950, makes special mention of the friendly and cooperative atmosphere at Millersville.

CHAPTER VII

A History of Extra-Curricular Activities

ORIGIN OF THE LITERARY SOCIETIES

THE literary societies of the Millersville State Normal School were the most important extra-curricular organizations of the school well into the twentieth century. They provided wholesome and constructive entertainment for practically the entire student body. The testimony of many participants, the careful reading of the thousands of pages of meticulously written minutes, and an equally careful perusal of the scores of newspaper accounts of both the Page and Normal Literary Societies leave little doubt that the literary societies were an important factor in constructive entertainment, in the development of ability in writing and speaking, in the development of an interest in contemporary affairs, and in an openminded approach to the problems of the time. They were educational institutions in their own right.

A history of the school would be rather incomplete without some treatment of these important institutions. Literary societies were not originated in this area by the Normal School. They were quite common throughout Lancaster County and throughout the East before the Civil War. The Historical, Agricultural, and Mechanics Institute of Lancaster, presided over by the Honorable Thaddeus Stevens in 1859, was a flourishing institution that maintained a library on the third floor of City Hall, and invited speakers of national prominence to address the group. In February of 1859 Horace Greeley addressed the group in his "undisciplined voice" for two hours. Wendell Phillips had previously addressed the Institute. Even in such small towns as Safe Harbor and Paradise, literary societies flourished with sufficient success to cause the editor of the *Daily Express* to indulge in the hope that such enterprises would be copied on a large scale. Franklin and Marshall College supported its own Diagnothian Literary Society, to which Millersville students were invited.

It is evident that the time was ripe for literary societies at the time the first Normal Institute of Lancaster County was held in the Millersville Academy. Accordingly, on the first day (April 17, 1855) of the memorable Institute, Professor Wickersham, in his opening address to the students, suggested that two literary societies be established as soon as conveniently possible, one to be named after Benjamin Franklin and devoting itself to literary and philosophical inquiries, and the other to be named after David Page, the noted principal of the Albany Normal School, and devoting itself to professional interests. The societies were promptly formed as suggested and were active during the three months' term of the Normal Institute.

With the formation of the Lancaster County Normal School under the principalship of John F. Stoddard, the author of a widely used series of mathematics textbooks, the emphasis seemed to shift away from professional interests. The weaker of the two societies was allowed to die and the Page Literary Society changed its concentration from professional to literary interests.

The original Page Constitution of 1855 provided for the election by ballot of officers—president, vice-president, secretary, and treasurer—every four weeks. A majority of all votes was necessary for election. Any members of the Normal School were eligible for membership on the payment of a ten cent initiation fee. Funds were to be raised by an equal tax on all the members. Questions to be debated were approved by a majority of members present and were expected to be related to the "teaching profession" or to the improvement of the mental and moral faculties. In the exercises the critic was expected to be an important officer, the constitution stating that "it shall be the duty of the critic to note down all inaccuracies in speech and argument of the members while engaged in the deliberations of the Society, and at the close of each discussion, to criticize whatever he thinks improper." The critic was also authorized to give a decision on the debates if he so desired. This practice was also followed by some of the teachers institutes.

The weekly meetings of the Page Literary Society were held on Saturday nights at 6:30 p. m. in the Chapel. Topics were selected a week in advance and the president appointed one or two speakers on each side to start the discussion, fifteen minutes being allowed to each speaker. Members of the audience wishing to participate in the discussions took seats designated by the president so that all the negative proponents were in one location and all the affirmative in another.

The first question debated by the Page Literary Society was entitled, "Is a man justifiable in disobeying the laws of his country when he believes them to be morally wrong." Several other questions debated that same school year were as follows: (1) "Is corporal punishment an efficient mode of school government?" (December 15, 1855); (2) "Has the Indian or Negro the greater cause of complaint against the white man?" (December 21, 1855); (3) "Should Foreigners be allowed to hold office in the United States?" (December 21, 1855); (4) "Should Women have equal rights with men?" (December 29, 1855); (5) "Should slavery be abolished throughout the United States?" (January 12, 1856); (6) "Should the office of County Superintendent be abolished?" (February 9, 1856); (7) "Should capital punishment be abolished?" (February 16, 1856); (8) "Which is the mightier, the Pen or the Sword?" (March 1, 1856); (9) "Can man gain more information by reading or traveling?" (March 8, 1856); (10) "Resolved that the ancient languages should not be included in a regular course of col-

legiate instruction." (March 27, 1856); (11) "Is it expedient to unite mental and manual labor in our Educational Institutions?" (June 6, 1856).

Nearly all of these questions seemed to be debated with considerable spirit, and efforts were made to have the debates conform to the good practice suggested by the *American Debator,* which was adopted as the official guide. Sometimes the enthusiasm of the discussion carried them beyond the time limits set. Occasionally the enthusiasm of the group gave an opportunity for a few uncouth students to require the application of the resolution passed by the society against the stamping of feet and other distracting noise. Questions dealing with women's rights seemed to recur time after time. On December 6, 1856, the topic "that women should have an equal right with man in governmental affairs" was discussed. "The discussion was singularly interesting this evening because a lady came boldly out and proved to man that his protection was bondage." To the reader of a hundred years later the statement does not seem seriously exaggerated.

The approach to the discussion of many topics was quite liberal. Less than a year later Mrs. Lucretia Mott, a Quakeress crusader, spoke to the Page Literary Society on "Woman's Rights." The *Daily Express* reported the appearance objectively and spoke favorably of the society. The *Lancaster Intelligencer,* however, did not approve of such boldness and reported that "the somewhat notorious and strong-minded woman lectured before the Page Literary Society . . . on the foolish subject of 'Woman's Rights'." The logic of Mrs. Mott's arguments did not dent the majority view expressed by the *Intelligencer,* which wondered how "people, calling themselves sensible, will listen to such silly harangues."

To vary the procedure a little the new president was required to give an inaugural address. Also, the time honored custom of reading essays was adopted. The essays were usually composed and read by the ladies, while the gentlemen seemed to devote themselves mostly to the debates and orations. A further variation resulted from the introduction in 1856 of a weekly paper known as the *Yankee Blade.* It contained articles and comments by the students. The material in the *Yankee Blade* was designed to entertain and also to instruct. One issue contained "quite interesting articles on ditching, digging wells etc." Other issues were "hurrahing" for Bucks, Chester, and Lancaster Counties. The *Yankee Blade* was read before the society and was irregularly reported in the papers. It provided a valuable medium for students to express themselves in written form. In 1858 the materials of the *Yankee Blade* were reedited for inclusion in the *Page Monthly* which was published by B. H. Hershey, a former student and a member of the Board of Trustees, for one dollar per year. In 1859 Mr. Hershey made an arrangement to employ the talents of

both the Page Literary Society and the newly formed Normal Literary Society (1857) and to publish a combined periodical for two years. The venture lasted for only one year.

The constitution of the Page Literary Society provided for the election of honorary members, but the members apparently did not exercise their prerogative until January of 1856 when the first list of honorary members was appointed. At that time it was decided that honorary members must meet the following qualifications: (1) Is he a friend of education? (2) Is he strictly a moral and temperate man? (3) Would he be likely to assist the society either by his efforts or his influence?

The Page Society seemed to be relatively conservative in the selection of honorary members and apparently applied the above questions to men proposed for membership. The list contained the names of trustees, teachers, Professor James P. Wickersham, Thomas H. Burrowes, Bayard Taylor, the Honorable Thaddeus Stevens of Lancaster, who was erroneously regarded by many educators as the man who saved the Free School Act of 1834, Governor James Pollock, who displayed a personal interest in Millersville, the Superintendents and Deputy Superintendents of the State Department, and others of a similar caliber. Some of these men are reported as having made contributions to the library of the literary society, as having given addresses, and as having rendered service in other capacities.

One of the spheres in which the honorary members could be of service was in the building of the library, which was one of the major projects of the society and a source of endless satisfaction to the more intellectual of its members. B. H. Hershey and other individuals made gifts of books. The members taxed themselves to increase the library facilities and the Board of Trustees made a gift of two shares of stock (par value $25) to each of the two societies for the purchase of library books. The societies must have exerted themselves quite vigorously to build up their libraries, as is evident from the fact that both societies together had, according to Principal Wickersham, approximately two thousand "well-selected volumes in their Libraries in 1859." The index of Page books for 1863 bears out the statement that the books were "well-selected" for that period of time. Of course, one would expect to find a considerable number of books on morality, temperance, and religion, the language of which would today hardly provoke more than amusement. Some such titles were—*Angel Visitors, Aspirations, Angel Whispers, Angel and the Demon, Sabbath Day Miscellany, Memoirs of Rev. J. J. Hanly, Temperance Lectures, Lectures on the True, Beautiful and Good.*

Professor Wickersham stated that the Page and Normal were literary societies "conducted by the students." The statement "conducted by the students" gives the present day reader a slightly incorrect impression. The Page Society was closely supervised by faculty

members, who were in some cases active members and held office. In June of 1856, Mr. E. B. Weaver, a teacher of mathematics, was elected president, and later served as critic. Professor Wickersham made motions and delivered lectures. L. M. Hobbs, the Steward, was elected president on November 7, 1856. The committee to revise the constitution and by-laws consisted of three teachers (Cornwell, Hobbs, and Weaver) and two students. Professor Edward Brooks was frequently present and variously participated, as did Mrs. Brooks. This policy of close supervision no doubt was necessary in the early years, but the policy was continued throughout the nineteenth century, long after it had served its purpose, and considerable evidence is at hand to show that the policy of nominally regarding the students as mature ladies and gentlemen while actually treating them as children continued in quite full force well into the twentieth century.

The Normal Literary Society was organized January 30, 1857. The constitution and by-laws were prepared by Professor Edward Brooks, William W. Fell, F. L. P. Varro, and J. C. Hunter. According to Principal Wickersham, a difference of opinion arose in the Page Society concerning the respective rights of residents and non-residents. The discussion both in and out of the regular meetings became heated, and therefore a special meeting was called for a Saturday afternoon to discuss the matter further. Professor Wickersham was asked for his opinion, but declined to discuss the matter, merely giving it as his thought that "the hive had become too small for the bees, and that a swarm would be the proper relief." The meeting apparently took the advice and within two days the "bees had swarmed." Professor Brooks was the guiding spirit in the movement to establish a new society, known as the Normal Literary Society. The first session of the society was held on the last day of January, 1857, and was addressed by Principal Wickersham, who "expressed himself highly pleased with the spirit of the new Society." The preamble to the constitution expressed the purpose of the society in the following words:

> Whereas, the clear, fluent, and elegant expression of thought is eminently important to every citizen of the Republic, and especially to the instructors of youth, who are to mould the institutions of the nation, and whereas such ability can be most readily attained in a well regulated Literary Society, therefore, we the undersigned, have organized such a Society . . .

The essential parts of the fourteen-page constitution that was unanimously adopted at the first session of the society on January 31, 1857, will be briefly explained. The officers of the society consisted of a president, vice-president, recording secretary, corresponding secretary, treasurer, editor, and critic. A librarian to serve for twelve weeks was added later. It was the duty of the president to preside at all meetings, to "enforce a rigid observance of its constitution and

by-laws," and to perform the usual duties of a president as outlined in Cushings' *Rules of Proceeding and Debate in Deliberative Assemblies.* He designated two chief disputants one week in advance. According to the constitution, "The one shall have the choice of the question, which may be determined by agreement or lot, the other shall have first choice of disputants," of which there were usually two for each side. He selected the committee on questions which weekly reported two topics, one of which was to be debated the following week. The president also appointed the orator and essayists two weeks in advance and two associate judges on the day of the debate to assist the critic who acted as chief judge.

The editor's duty was to receive literary contributions from the members and to select the more appropriate for inclusion in the *Normal Review,* which was read at the weekly meetings. All contributions were read without identification of the author and without material alteration or addition. The critic served the same function as the equivalent officer in the Page Literary Society.

All the officers were elected by ballot for a period of four weeks, except the librarian who served twelve weeks. Two nominations were required for each office.

Regular membership was open to all students of the Normal School (who were not members of the Page Society) on the payment of an initiation fee of fifty cents (in 1863) and to all faculty members without fee but with all privileges. Honorary members were appointed as were regular members by a two-thirds vote of the members present, fifteen constituting a quorum.

An ordinary meeting, aside from the business affairs, usually opened with an oration and an essay. A sixty minute debate was general practice, the chief judge giving a verdict on the merits of the arguments. The debate by the appointed personnel was followed by a general debate, with a time limit of five minutes per speaker. A decision by the house on the merits of the question was always of interest and was carefully recorded. Usually the roll was called a second time and every member was to recite a sentiment "either quoted or original, of a moral, humorous or literary character." Frequently the reading of the *Normal Review* was a highlight of the evening. The critic's remarks came last and were of a variable character, sometimes having punch and fire and at other times amounting to "nix," as the hypercritical F. J. P. Varro put it. The first meetings of the Society were not treated to much music, but by the time of the Civil War every program was liberally interspersed with selections by individual singers, pianists, violinists, and by selections rendered by the Normal Glee Club, and the combined Page and Normal Glee Club, or by the string band. The latter appeared to be a conglomeration of odds and ends of musical talent.

The Normal Literary Society in common with the older Page

Society was quite thoroughly dominated by the Faculty. The first president naturally was Professor Brooks. His leadership was marked with vigor and benevolence. The students appeared to have a deep respect for him and frequently turned to him for assistance. Perhaps one secret of his strength with the society was his complete willingness to serve the group he sponsored. When an essayist was needed he wrote an essay "replete with useful information" and read it before the society with highly favorable comments recorded in the minutes. When an assistant to the chief disputant was needed, he was at hand. When others were too busy or were disinclined to deliver an hour long anniversary address, Professor Brooks was at hand to do the task. He appeared not to be sensitive to the fact that on a number of occasions he was asked to fill a gap left by the disinclination of the first choice to serve. Such a man was bound to exert an influence because he was a necessary cog in critical times.

Professors J. P. Wickersham, R. T. Cornwell, M. D. Wickersham (brother of J. P. Wickersham), Andrew R. Byerly, and D. H. Herr participated directly in the early programs and affairs of the Normal Literary Society. On one occasion Professors Wickersham, Cornwell, and Brooks served at one time as assistants to the chief disputants on the topic, "That the banishment of Napoleon Bonaparte to the Island of St. Helena was an injustice." Charles Denues and Jacob Peters, who later served as members of the Board of Trustees for many years, acted as assistants on the topic, "That foreigners should be denied the right of suffrage." Other distinguished citizens, Board members, honorary members, and faculty members took an active interest in the new society. This interest and participation was a distinct benefit to the infant organization, many of whose members were sorely in need of good examples from which to learn.

The intellectual maturity of the members may partly be judged from the fact that at the end of the fourth year of the Lancaster County Normal School only seven students had reached the Senior year, in a two-year course, and only thirty students had reached the Junior class. The other 363 students during the year 1858-1859 had not yet acquired "a fair knowledge of the branches of study required by law to be taught in common schools" and were therefore classed as preparatory students. In view of the meager academic preparation of most of the students, the work that they did in their literary societies is highly commendable. Of course, it must be remembered that many of these students were considerably older than their academic level would indicate and most of them had teaching experience.

It was common at the time to debate what would be regarded today as nonsensical topics. The first topic debated by the Normal Society, "Resolved that ambition has caused more misery in the world than intemperance," might be classed as pointless, except as

an exercise in the gymnastics of argument. "Resolved, That the Pen is mightier than the Sword," was a perennial favorite and even the casual reader of today is familiar with the topic. "Anticipation yields greater pleasure than possession," "The Pulpit affords a better field of eloquence than the Bar," "Resolved that we prophit [sic] more by the virtues than by the vices of mankind," were some of the topics that would hardly be debated today. Strangely enough, Edward Brooks eloquently pleaded the case for the vices in the last debate mentioned.

While some of the topics seemed merely to be exercises in fluent and eloquent argument, others were practical in their application and showed an appreciation of the problems of the time. In psychology the question of whether the "Difference of talent is owing more to circumstances [environment] than to nature [heredity]," was by no means settled. The group believed that heredity was the primary factor. The resolution, "That emulation should be introduced into our common schools as an incentive to study," was practical in a period of time when individual teaching was still the rule in most counties.

The weekly debates touched a wide range of fields and, studied in connection with the decision of the house on the merits of the question itself, are of considerable interest. The question of women's rights was frequently debated, with the house usually taking the conservative position against voting. The students in their house decisions were willing "That all theatrical performances should be suppressed," but did not believe "that public opinion should be regarded as a standard of right." They believed "that the principles of the Republican Party should be encouraged," "that it was within the power of the last administration [Buchanan] to prevent the present crises [Civil War]," and followed the manifest destiny of the 1850's when they approved the annexation of Mexico and the appropriation of $30,000,000 to buy Cuba. As the Civil War approached and as the war progressed, the students in their debates approached the problems of the time with a practical determination to explore all angles, easing up somewhat on mere "elegant expression" and the mental gymnastic approach to a question.

The War was very close to them. Captain Andrew R. Byerly had marched off to War after being discouraged by the Board of Trustees.[1] Second Lieutenant E. Oram Lyte of the Independent Battery I (light artillery), was wounded at the Battle of Chancellorsville. Colonel J. P. Wickersham himself in 1863 led the Forty-Seventh Regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteers in pursuit of the enemy after

1 Samuel P. Bates, *History of the Pennsylvania Volunteers*, Volume IV, pp. 54, 55, 62. Andrew R. Byerly was the Captain of Company E in the 122nd Regiment and served from August 12, 1862 to May 15, 1863.

the threat to Lancaster County had been averted by the burning of the bridge at Columbia, and later in the summer of 1863 helped to suppress the draft riots in the region of Pottsville.[2] In the midst of these troubled times the students relaxed the tension by debating the topic, "That beards should be worn not shorn." Some of the more mature members of the society did not appreciate such levity and attempted to "annul the question" in a special meeting but without success.

The orations tended to stress matters at hand, "We must fight" being the topic for November 15, 1862. However, the essays, frequently delivered by the ladies, followed the pattern suggested by the topics, "Hope," "Snowflakes," "The Web of Life," . . . . It was common practice for the gentlemen to deliver the orations and to participate as chief disputants and assistants in the debates, while the main province of the ladies lay in the field of elegant and sentimental expression in the essay.

The Normal Literary Society set about the same theoretical requirements for honorary membership as the older Page organization. Among the first members voted into honorary membership were the Rev. John C. Crumbaugh, Lancaster County Superintendent, Jacob Peters, Charles Denues, and Thomas H. Burrowes. A few weeks later (in 1857) the democratic President-Elect of the United States, James Buchanan of Lancaster, and "King" Herr were given honorary status. Governor James Pollock wrote a personal letter of appreciation and acceptance. The appreciation expressed by men like Burrowes, Crumbaugh, Governor Pollock and others stimulated enthusiasm among the members of the society and before the end of the session Ex-Governor William Bigler, Congressman David Wilmot, of Wilmot Proviso fame, and other distinguished Pennsylvanians were added to the list. The enthusiasm for increasing the honorary roll reached a high pitch in June, 1857, when, at a special meeting, thirty honorary members were elected and only one regular member. During the evening session of that same day four more honorary members were added to the list. Thaddeus Stevens, the Black Republican Congressman who was commonly regarded as the savior of the Free School Act of 1834, was voted into membership in 1858, followed by Dorothea Dix, a noted humanitarian of Trenton, New Jersey. The latter made a "valuable contribution to the library" in June, 1858.

In the same general period the society showed signs of going to extremes in its selection of honorary members, having elected Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes of Harvard and Sir Walter Scott. After the Republican Convention of 1860, the growing society in all seriousness conferred honorary membership on Abraham Lincoln, who had just

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2 Samuel P. Bates, *History of the Pennsylvania Volunteers,* Volume V, p. 1283. C. H. Harding and D. H. Herr of the Normal School were on his staff.

been nominated for the office of President, and on Hannibal Hamlin, Lincoln's running mate. Two years later the Peninsular campaign brought General George B. McClellan to the attention of the Normal Literary Society and the famous General was added to the Millersville list. Shortly thereafter, Queen Victoria, the Czar of Russia, and the Prince of Wales were given honorary status. There appears to be no evidence that they accepted the honor. Some time later the Normal Literary Society regained its equilibrium and approached the subject of honorary membership in a more realistic manner. In the late 1890's General Fitzhugh Lee, son of Robert E. Lee, and Captain C. D. Sigbee, Commander of the Battleship Maine, expressed their written appreciation for the honor of membership conferred upon them.

As with most of the literary organizations, one of the major concerns of the Normal Society was the building of a library. A month after the organization date, a committee of ten members was appointed to solicit subscriptions for a library. In June of 1857 a second committee of ten was appointed to solicit donations to the library, presumably to create a spirit of competition. Money received from honorary members was used for the expansion of the library. The two shares of stock contributed by the Board of Trustees was converted into cash to purchase library books. In August, 1857, Professor Brooks was instructed to buy $75 worth of books in Philadelphia. Three months later Professor Brooks, Principal Wickersham, and Lydia W. Stephens, the only lady senior in the Normal School, were appointed a committee to select library books. Later committees did not have as heavy a preponderance of faculty members. The growth of the library encouraged the Board of Trustees to contribute a commodius book case in 1857 and another bookcase and "liberal contributions to our Library" in 1858.

Dr. Pounder of Morgantown, Berks County, who had recently been elected an honorary member, made a number of valuable contributions to the Normal Society including a letter written by George Washington concerning the Battle of Brandywine Creek dated Chester, September 11, 1777, twelve o'clock midnight. Also a letter from Robert Harrison to John Hancock, President of the Continental Congress, dated Chadds Ford, September 11, 1777, and relating to Brandywine Creek, was in the collection, which included a number of other important papers relating to the operations of the Continental Army during the Revolutionary War.

The Board of Trustees always took an interest in the society libraries and after 1872 regular contributions of $50 and $100 were made for their expansion. Special rooms were provided for both societies after the construction of the new Chapel in 1875.

For the most part the literary societies were orderly institutions earnestly striving to build up their libraries, to win friends for the

school they loved, and to perfect the "elegant expression of thought" that seemed to them so "eminently important to every citizen." But among the members there were always a number of so-called "gentlemen" who attracted attention by their misdeeds. The first one of these disturbing elements recorded in the minutes was F. J. P. Varro, one of the founders of the Normal Literary Society. At a special meeting four months after the founding of the society, thirteen ladies presented an ultimatum stating that unless the "captious" Mr. Varro was expelled they would resign in a body. The meeting agreed that Mr. Varro had destroyed the order of some of the meetings, had insulted some of the officials, had prevented more worthy members from joining the organization, and in general was an unbearable egotist and a nuisance. "Mr. Varro was heard in exculpation." (The members enjoyed unusual words which they sometimes misspelled.) On motion he was expelled. But other trouble-makers crept in among the members to disturb the peace and order.

In 1869 several boys created a serious disturbance at the Anniversary meeting of the Normal Literary Society. Principal Brooks brought their case to the attention of the Board of Trustees, which appointed a Committee on Prosecution headed by Andrew M. Frantz, attorney. The "gentlemen" received a hearing and were bound over for the April term of Court in Lancaster. A. B. Christ, one of the offenders, wrote a letter begging for mercy and, after a "spirited discussion," it was decided to drop the case if he paid all legal costs. In 1872 a "gentleman" (all male students were thus designated) by the name of Scott Brody chose the all-important Page Anniversary meeting to perpetrate "malicious mischief." The Steward, S. G. Behmer, was instructed to prosecute him. It can readily be understood that the Normal School could not tolerate misconduct at these all-important anniversary meetings, in view of the fact that a competitive effort was made by the societies to secure outstanding speakers for the overflowing audiences. It was not uncommon for the Governor (Hartranft in 1874) to be escorted to the rostrum by as many as seven Trustees, who in their own right were men of no mean standing.

The literary societies were outstanding organizations in the literary and social culture of the Normal School before the turn of the century. They supplied a need that no other organization at the time could satisfy in the same manner. An examination of the topics of debate and the referred questions during any school session would indicate that the major topics of current interest were covered quite well, that topics of an entertaining nature were included, and that topics suitable for mental gymnastics were also included. On an informational basis the literary societies could be judged thoroughly educational. Essays furnished an opportunity for elegant written expression. Orations stimulated elegant oral composition and expression. Recitations gave

practice in the all important field of elocution. The society glee clubs, orchestra, quartets, and mandolin clubs furnished an opportunity to exercise and display to advantage the musical talents of the members. A frequent change of officers (once a month originally and in the 1920's four times a year) and committees, gave opportunity to many students to learn something about the fine art of leadership. This art of leadership, of course, had to be learned under the watchful eyes of a vigilant faculty.

For more than fifty years the societies were kept alert by the encouragement on the part of the faculty of a friendly rivalry between the societies. Sometimes, indeed, the rivalry was not so friendly. It was common practice to resort to all kinds of electioneering tricks to secure members. It was not uncommon to find rival society committees at the railroad station to welcome newcomers to the school. Sometimes even faculty members took a hand in this electioneering and had to be restrained as late as 1910 by stern words of caution from the principal. It was common practice to vie with each other in their programs, particularly in the anniversary programs, when prominent alumni were chosen to serve as officers and prominent alumni addressed the meetings. When one or the other of the societies secured the Governor of the Commonwealth as a speaker they were most jubilant. This friendly rivalry seems to have been an important element in the success of the literary societies.

It must be remembered that traveling facilities were not very satisfactory and even if a student succeeded in getting away from Millersville, there was not much in the way of commercialized entertainment to absorb his attention. Before 1874 there was only a stage coach and horse onmibus connection with Lancaster. After 1874, the horse car was introduced and rather inexpensively covered the four miles from Millersville to Lancaster in three-fourths of an hour. It can readily be seen that the students did not make a habit of leaving the campus because of the time and inconvenience involved. Programs prepared by the students were necessary to the times and were exceedingly well patronized, partly for want of anything else to do. That some people, both students and outsiders, were there for want of anything else to do is evident from the numerous reports of bad conduct at the society meetings and the need for a constable at the more important meetings.

The building of the electric trolley line to Millersville in 1891 was not an unmixed blessing for the literary societies. It enabled more students to get away from the campus and made them less dependent on the literary societies for Friday and Saturday entertainment. The organization of the Y. W. C. T. U. in 1895, the organization of the Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A. in 1891, the formation of the Athletic Association in 1891, the organization of the Senior Class

effected in 1891, the expanded interscholastic athletic program partly as a result of better transportation by trolley, the Camera Club in 1898, the Natural Science Club in 1902, the publication of the "Wickersham" (Yearbook) in 1899 in place of the Page and Normal Weekly,[3] and a number of other activities and interests began to absorb the attention of the normal school students to an increasing extent. The electric trolley, the telephone, better turnpikes, and other factors seemed to create a general restlessness and that restlessness found expression in more activities. Until well past the turn of the century the literary societies maintained much of their prestige and their following in spite of the vigorous competition. However, the official minutes gave ample evidence of the concern felt by the faculty over the approaching decline in the literary societies.

In 1909 the condition of the societies was referred to in the *Normal Journal* in the following words:

> The question of the improvement of the literary societies in the Page and the Normal is one that has given us deep concern for many years. The length of time now given to athletics, the greater interest in the Christian associations and the Temperance Union, the lecture courses, the increase in the number of day students, all have their effect on the literary societies. A committee of leading members of the faculty was appointed to consider what could be done to make them better. This committee reported to the faculty, at a meeting attended by all the members, and their report was adopted without a dissenting vote. One of the leading recommendations was the holding of meetings on alternate Friday evenings. This went into effect at the opening of the winter term.

The committee went on to say that observations here and elsewhere had demonstrated that all literary societies faced the same problems of competition and presumably were all on the decline.

To restore some of the competition and rivalry that had previously existed between the literary societies, the faculty decided (1914) to award a silk banner to the society winning the annual debate. This banner was to be hung in the library of the society winning the debate. For a few years the banner seemed to serve its purpose and considerable space was given to the matter in the newspapers and the yearbook. In 1917 the Page Literary Society team, consisting of Frank

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3 *Normal Journal*, 12:7, May, 1899. Some of the faculty members were glad to see the Page and Normal Weeklies discontinued. The Revolt of 1881 was partly brought on by material read in the Weeklies. Material considered impertinent was sometimes included. For instance, one student was called to terms for writing an article on the topic of a "Faculty Romance." Of course, marriages between faculty members and former students and between faculty members were not at all uncommon. Dr. Lyte married a former student as did Dr. Baker, Dr. Hull and others in spite of the strict rules on the "association of the sexes." One of the lady teachers even married a man student considerably her junior.

S. Keith, Sanders P. McComsey, and D. Luke Biemesderfer, won the banner on the question, "That the United States has adopted a wise policy in dealing with the nations now at war in Europe." All the members of the Page team won honors in other fields as well. Frank S. Keith placed second in the oratorical contest to Miss Elva L. Walter (Mrs. D. L. Biemesderfer) of the Normal Society, and Mr. McComsey and Mr. Biemesderfer both of the class of 1917, took prizes in scholarship and teaching. 1917 seemed to be the high point in the effectiveness of the banner. By 1921 it was discontinued for lack of interest.

All the efforts of the faculty, many of whom were devoted to the literary societies, could not prevent their decline. Elsewhere they had practically disappeared. There was not enough attention devoted to the more serious aspects of the societies in orations, debates, and essays. Sometimes there were no meetings because of a failure to prepare programs. The meetings were too short. Attendance was poor, and the competition was getting more severe. In 1924 and 1925 a number of new clubs and activities were introduced. Dr. Gordinier, the Principal, announced to the faculty that there was something "radically wrong" with the societies.

The faculty did what it could to bolster the expiring literary societies. In 1922 by resolution of the faculty unanimously adopted, every senior was required to affiliate with one or the other society and to attend eight meetings. Students were required to participate when requested or furnish a substitute. By 1924 it was made compulsory for underclassmen to join one of the literary societies. In terms of the great service rendered by the societies in the nineteenth century, the effort was commendable but it was somewhat ineffective. The proverbial horses were led to the water but they generally refused to drink. The great day of the literary societies was in the past and no amount of faculty effort or legislation could breathe life into them.

The societies are still in existence. An allocation of fifty cents from the activity fee of $12.50 per semester is still made with apparently some reluctance on the part of the students. Compulsory attendance is no longer required. The Anniversaries are still observed, but the regular meetings are practically a relic of the past. The Societies would no doubt have expired a score of years ago except for the determination of several professors who remember the Societies as they were thirty-five and more years ago.

Anyone who has studied the history of literary societies will be impressed with the testimony of many former students of the normal schools and colleges on the great value of the experience gained in those excellent institutions.

ATHLETICS

Organized sports did not appear to exist at the Normal School before the Civil War. There are no records available on the subject and the newspapers of the period do not mention organized team

sports. Dr. Andrew R. Byerly said (in 1909) that "during the first years of the school very little attention was given to athletics." There was, however, an interest in exercise or physical culture and the ladies were provided with the attic space of the Ladies' Building for a gymnasium. The equipment consisted of "gum balls" and a little equipment. The men were provided little more than outdoor space directly west of the buildings.

After the Civil War, however, baseball was considerably in evidence. The Millersville Normal School boys had organized the Tecumseh Club, which fielded three baseball teams in 1866.

An interesting game was played on September 29, 1866, between the First Nine Tecumseh and the First Nine Alpha of Franklin and Marshall College. Professor C. H. Harding of the Normal School umpired the game and W. U. Hensel, a future Pennsylvania State Attorney-General, and Thad. S. Dickey did the scoring. Millersville made 22 runs to 16 for Franklin and Marshall. E. O. Lyte did the catching for Millersville and made 3 of the 22 runs. It is interesting to note that the officials were often associated with the clubs and that faculty members participated in both officiating and playing. Most of the games appeared to be played with other than school teams. The expenses connected with the sports in the early years were born by the players themselves and their friends. This was the type of game that Dr. Lyte pointed to in later years with much satisfaction. The game was played without admission charges and without any degree of the professionalization that crept into many schools (including some of the normal schools) later in the century.

Professor Harding later in the 1866 season was found playing center field on the First Nine Tecumseh and made 4 out of 21 runs against the First Nine Alpha (F. & M.). E. O. Lyte, the catcher, made 3 out of the 21 runs. In this return match game the umpire was listed as H. Henderson (not a Millersville man) and in a penciled notation in the scorebook appeared the words, "cheated for Alpha." Millersville lost the return match game by 23 runs to 21 runs. In 1870 the Second Nine Tecumseh beat the First Nine Keystone by a score of 45 to 44. In many of the games the number of runs seemed to be high which indicated poor pitching and poor fielding but fair batting. In a game between the First Nine Tecumseh and the First Nine Excelsior played at Mount Joy, the Mount Joy boys won by a score of 81 to 60 runs, with Lyte taking 8 runs. E. O. Lyte was still playing on the First Nine Normal in 1875 and 1876 as a pitcher and not as a catcher. He is listed as the captain of the team. His last game played as a faculty member appeared to be against the Lone Stars on June 17, 1876.

An interesting notation over the signature of John McNair Wright appears on the rear page of the oldest extant record book, to the effect that of the sixty-five games played by the Normal School clubs under

the name of Tecumseh, Resolute and Normal between 1865 and 1878, 45 were won by the Normal School with a grand total of 1,829 runs against 1,307 for the opponents. These games were played anytime from May to December.

By the time that Dr. Lyte became principal of the Millersville State Normal School in 1887, football on an informal basis had been introduced as well as a few informal track activities. Football games appeared to be irregularly scheduled and appeared to be played by groups of boys who got together without much coaching or equipment. On Thanksgiving afternoon of 1888, the Normal School boys played a game among themselves which resulted in a broken leg for H. H. Martin of Lititz.

Tennis was well established by the summer of 1889 and a tennis association was set up among the ladies. New courts had been constructed for the men. Croquet was popular. Baseball, however, was the outstanding sport, with five teams organized for the spring session of 1889. A few games were played with county clubs. Most of the activity was on an intramural basis.

"Football is booming at the Normal, as elsewhere," was the comment of Miss Sarah H. Gilbert in her column in the *Normal Journal* of November, 1889. Millersville had been taught the "art of war" when Franklin and Marshall College defeated the team in its first game away from home. Apparently the boys learned quickly and defeated York Collegiate Institute twice by scores of 22 to 0 and 32 to 0. Captain S. W. Minnich and Professor Sanford went to New York on Thanksgiving Day to observe the playing of the Princeton-Yale contest. In 1890 Pennsylvania College (Gettysburg College) was added to the schedule and defeated, but the boys lost to the second team of Franklin and Marshall College.

The construction of the Gymnasium, in order to keep up with the activity of West Chester and other schools in physical culture, stimulated an interest in organized sports and set a number of people to thinking about a permanent athletic association, which was formed in the winter of 1891-1892. The first permanent Athletic Association elected the following officers: President, S. H. Hain, a senior; Secretary, W. E. Gochenour, a senior; and Treasurer, Professor J. W. Lansinger. The organization of the Athletic Association coincided with a large building program and a period of "unprecedented prosperity of the Great Institution at Millersville," but it was a number of years before the Athletic Association reached a degree of prosperity sufficient to support the sports program. With the increased activity in athletics it was necessary to select school colors. Purple and gold were selected, but it was soon discovered that another normal school had the same colors and therefore only the gold was retained as the school color.

The football season of 1894 was considered the most successful one to date. It was reported in the *Normal Journal* that

> They did not miss a recitation for practice, they had no training table, no coacher, [spelling in the original] no suits of armor or such things as savor of professionals. Their adversaries, who with one exception met defeat, found them gentlemen and not sluggers.

W. E. Gochenour, a senior in the scientific course, served as manager of the team and fullback, and Bartholomew Lynch, a senior in the elementary course, served as captain. Mr. Lynch still finds frequent occasion to talk about the great game with Franklin and Marshall. The outstanding event of the season was the defeat of the varsity team of Franklin and Marshall College by a score of 16 to 0. This was an upset of the first order. The Millersville boys were given a reception topped off with an oyster supper at "Andy's," given by Dr. Lyte, the outstanding baseball player of 1866 to 1868, in celebration of the event.

During the middle and late 1890's the Athletic Association did what it could to promote a sound athletic program without professionalism. Professor A. D. Pinkham, "director of physical culture for gentlemen," and a director of the Athletic Association, introduced basketball into the classwork for boys in 1897 and the same had been done for the girls a little earlier. He assisted with the sports, encouraged practice in basketball, baseball, and other sports, and even accompanied the teams on occasion, but did not appear to be regarded as a coach in the modern sense of the word. However, he did stir up a general enthusiasm in the county with his elaborate athletic exhibitions, complete with music and recitations. Annual track events for the Normal School students were arranged by the Athletic Association for late June and were of wide interest. All of these events helped to build up an enthusiasm for athletics and should be regarded as one of the factors in the later decline of the flourishing literary societies.

In this period, student managers like H. Edgar Sherts in baseball and W. E. Gochenour in football seemed to be the key personnel. Concerning football in 1898, the *Normal Journal* had this to say:

> Much of the success attained is due to Captain Taylor, 1899, and the very efficient coaching of Messrs. Warren, Phillips, Lieutenant McCaskey and others of Lancaster, who kindly aided Mr. Pinkham in his task of creating a team out of entirely new material.

Concerning baseball, the *Normal Journal* had this to say:

> The baseball team organized this year in the face of many difficulties. The team was to be chosen almost wholly from new material. The men had to be trained for their positions, and there seemed to be no player at hand with the ability and experience to choose and train the players; yet

these difficulties were surmounted . . . . In the first game they defeated a Lititz team by 36 to 12.

It is quite clear that before 1900 organized sports were rather informal affairs. There were no paid coaches, no paid officials, no eligibility rules, and in many cases no uniforms. The Athletic Association encouraged the boys to organize teams and to play for the fun of playing. Anyone who enjoyed the game and knew anything about the game was welcome to help with the coaching and the officiating.

The first basketball game played at Millersville with an outside team took place on January 20, 1900, when the school team met and defeated a team from Franklin and Marshall College with a score of 23 to 8. That same year the Girls Basketball Team played a match game with Miss Stohr's School of Lancaster.

The first contributions by the Board of Trustees to the Athletic Association, and thus the first official and direct recognition on the part of the Trustees that interscholastic sports were a part of the total school program, occurred in the summer of 1902. A statement of receipts and expenditures for 1902-1903 not only indicates that big change but also a change in the policy set down by Dr. Lyte against admission charges. In these matters, the Trustees and Dr. Lyte followed the tendency of the time. The Athletic Association report for 1902-1903 was as follows:

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES

	$	$
Balance on hand June 20, 1902	$ 41.72	
Received on acct. of football games	84.53	
Paid on acct. of football games		97.49
Recd. on acct. of basketball games	99.62	
Paid on acct. of basketball games		87.12
Recd. on acct. of baseball games	78.30	
Paid on acct. of baseball games		16.70
Recd. on acct. of dues	40.75	
Recd. June, 1902 from Trustees	25.00	
Recd. June, 1903 from Trustees	100.00	
Paid for football supplies		39.27
Paid for basketball supplies		28.28
Paid for baseball supplies		108.08
Paid for postage, expressage, telegrams, etc.		14.01
Total Receipts	469.92	
Total Expenses		390.95
Balance on hand June 25, 1903		78.97

Respectfully submitted
J. W. Lansinger, Treasurer

When Charles D. Cooper came to Millersville as director of physical culture and as coach in 1906, he brought with him a considerable reputation as the captain of the outstanding Bucknell Univer-

sity team. That year Millersville won all its football games except one, which was lost to a Muhlenberg College team by a score of 6 to 5. A heavy schedule of colleges and normal schools was played in basketball and in the spring the Millersville baseball team nearly equalled the record of the team of 1906, which accomplished the almost impossible feat of defeating the Carlisle Indians in a 4 to 3, ten-inning game. The Carlisle game was regarded as "The greatest game ever seen on the Millersville diamond." This cheered the heart of the ailing Dr. Lyte, who had learned to play baseball while a lieutenant of light artillery in the Union Army during the Civil War. Professor William R. Straughn, who later became the principal of the Mansfield State Normal School, was the captain of the 1907 team coached by Professor C. D. Cooper of Bucknell fame.

The baseball team did quite well again in 1910 when Millersville's rank by comparison was quite high. According to the *Normal Journal,* "Pennsylvania beat Princeton in baseball this season; Cornell beat Pennsylvania; Bucknell tied with Cornell (4-4) and beat Yale (5-3); Yale beat Harvard and Princeton; Millersville beat Bucknell University (5-3) . . . . And every member of the club was a regular student." The emphasis that only regular students were members of the club apparently denotes a change in policy, for it had been common practice to play so-called "ringers," men who were not bona fide students.

During the administration of P. Monroe Harbold, 1912-1918, eligibility rules were set up and scrupulously enforced. It was announced in the Catalogs that, "no student can take part in any public game or contest unless he is a bona fide student whose conduct and standing in class are satisfactory." Dr. Harbold advised the faculty to watch the standing of athletes (January 20, 1913). A week later two of the seven varsity basketball players were dropped by the faculty and the captain was warned. The captain was later suspended from playing and was not even reinstated on the specific request of Coach Zimmerman. A short time later the captain was required to withdraw from school for having too many rendezvous with a lady student in the library and at Brenneman's. This raised a storm of protests among the students, who petitioned the faculty for the reinstatement of the Captain, but the faculty on motion of Dr. Hull decided to allow the suspension to stand. Information of the faculty action had leaked out prematurely and was believed to have caused the student "agitation" before the information could be conveyed officially. A month later the faculty allowed the captain to return, but did not grant the same privilege to his female companion and did not permit him to play baseball. There was no question during Mr. Harbold's administration about the enforcement of eligibility rules. They were enforced in the face of considerable opposition.

Dr. Harbold was not a sports enthusiast, but he did think that if

they were properly managed and controlled, athletic activities were of value. He instituted an annual Fall Field Day for the township and borough high schools of the area in 1913. An elaborate series of track and field events were scheduled and during the second meet fifteen schools participated as guests of the Normal School. According to a *New Era* newspaper article, about a thousand people were in attendance at the third meet in 1915. An Annual Spring Field Day was inaugurated for the larger high schools. This field day was preceded by elocutionary and oratorical contests. It appears that Dr. Harbold had a sound point of view in athletics. Athletics were designed as a part of the school program and not as an end in themselves.

Millerville in this period scheduled a fairly full program of games with other normal schools in baseball and basketball, but was unable to schedule anywhere near a full program in football because Millersville was one of the few normal schools to play the game.

The evolution in athletic development in the normal schools continued. By 1920 it was recognized by the Board of Normal School Principals that general regulations and control were desirable and that, as in other phases of normal school management, such regulation and control must be uniform for all state normal schools.

Principals Gordinier, Baker, and Green were appointed in 1920 to cooperate with Mr. Harry Allen of the Bureau of Health Education in making certain changes in his tentative proposal. The detailed constitution that was worked out and unanimously adopted by the Board of Normal School Principals, is still basically in force today. The principal of each school was made responsible for the control of athletics in his school. Definite eligibility rules were established. A State Board of Control and district committees were set up. The state was divided into the western district, the northern district, and the southern district for convenience in scheduling and travel. It was agreed that teams might be formed in nine fields for boys and nine fields for girls including archery. This constitution put normal school competition on a uniform and reasonable basis.

Under Coach Pucillo, who has directed athletics at Millersville since 1925, the administration of athletics has been uniformly honest and balanced. A number of boys on the teams have been given jobs in the dining room and elsewhere to supplement their incomes, and it is generally recognized that Mr. Symons and Mr. Pucillo did not consider these jobs as nominal. The State Teachers Colleges have not generally been subjected to the same pressures to produce winning teams at any cost as have many of the liberal arts colleges and universities. In spite of the absence of excessive outside pressures to win, and without intense selective recruiting and the accompanying subsidizing of players, Millersville experienced the elation of an undefeated and untied football season in 1940, the only one in its college history.

From 1928 to 1954 outstanding basketball teams were common. In 1947, 1948, 1949, and 1951 the black and gold wrestlers achieved splendid records.

Plans are being considered (1952) to allocate the profits of the bookroom to an expanded athletic program including swimming and a revival of track.

THE YOUNG WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION

As far as can be determined from available records, the Page and Normal Literary Societies and the various musical organizations were the only permanent literary and social organizations at the Millersville State Normal School until 1885. At that time the temperance movement was strong in Pennsylvania and it was, therefore, logical to expect that the movement would spread to the Normal School, where the atmosphere was ripe for the crusading temperance worker. On Sunday afternoon of April 26, 1885, a Miss Narcissa White held a meeting in the Chapel for the purpose of organizing a Young Woman's Christian Temperance Union. An organization auxiliary to the Woman's Christian Temperance Union was formed with a membership of approximately eighty persons. Mrs. Sophia Baker, the wife of Professor T. R. Baker of the natural science department, was the first president and Miss Amanda Landes was the first treasurer. Miss Landes, the valedictorian of her class of 1885 at Millersville, became the leading spirit and driving force in the new organization and continued thus until her retirement from the Millersville faculty in 1920. During all this time, 1886-1920, Miss Landes was annually elected President of the Young Woman's Christian Temperance Union. Miss Landes was also prominent in the county and state organizations, regularly attended the state and national conventions, and was widely recognized as an effective temperance crusader.

The motto of the new society was, "For God and Home, and Native Land," and the badge consisted of a white ribbon bow. Miss Landes must have had a hand in determining the motto, for she was deeply religious and also intensely patriotic.[4] Meetings were held bi-weekly. Men were admitted to the organization and could participate in all activities, except the holding of office. In spite of the nature of the organization, a number of men joined the organization, including Mr. H. C. Symons, Dr. P. M. Harbold, and Dr. C. H. Gordinier. Men were admitted as officers when the organization became the Young People's Branch (Y. P. B.) of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union immediately after Miss Landes retired in 1920, but only one man was elected to an office, that of Superintendent of

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4 She liked to recite for the G. A. R. Her repertoire was full of stories of camp life and war, and frequently she recited at the base of the Civil War Monument on the front yard on which are inscribed the names of thirty normal students who died in the Civil War. "Old Glory" was one of her favorites.

Literature. Dr. Hull, Dr. Byerly, Dr. Lyte, Miss Sarah H. Gilbert, Mrs. H. F. Bitner and other faculty members supported the activities of the union in an active manner. Devotional exercises, discussions on the evils of tobacco and intoxicating beverages, lectures, recitations, and vocal and instrumental music constituted the body of the private meetings. Public meetings were held several times a year. Gospel Temperance meetings were well attended. The Union sponsored socials on Thanksgiving and on other suitable occasions, held student receptions as the occasions warranted, sponsored temperance essay and oratorical contests, and distributed literature to advance the cause of "virtue and sobriety."

By 1912 more than thirteen hundred names had been signed to the total abstinence pledge, which read as follows:

> I hereby solemnly promise, God helping me, to abstain from all distilled, fermented, and malt liquors, including wine, beer, and cider, as a beverage, and to employ all proper means to discourage the use of, and traffic in the same.

The attendance at the meetings was good, ranging from thirty-five to one hundred twenty-five for the year 1911-1912, and generally was sixty or higher. In fact, the attendance was always quite steady and never discouraging. This was a tribute to Miss Amanda Landes, instructor of reading and elocution, who devoted herself almost completely to the temperance movement aside from her teaching.

The year before Miss Landes retired she had the satisfaction of seeing the work of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union apparently bear fruit. On January 16, 1919, a jubilee meeting was held by the Union to celebrate the ratification of the Prohibition amendment to the Constitution. With much spirit they praised God and sang "On to Prohibition" and "We'll Make the Nation Dry." The Y W C T U sang "On to Prohibition," but did not vote strictly that way, a straw poll in 1920 indicating sixty-two votes for Harding, thirty-five for Cox, two for the prohibition candidate, one for the single tax, and one for the socialists.

In the last year that Miss Landes was president, ninety-nine members signed the temperance pledge, followed by thirty-three in 1920, and thirty-six in 1921. When Miss Landes retired in June of 1920, she bequeathed a flourishing personal organization to Miss Sarah H. Gilbert, treasurer of the Y W C T U for a number of years, and to Miss Elsie Whittaker, both members of the faculty. The membership continued at a fairly high level (84 in 1921-1922), but the organization lacked the determined drive and the fire of the untiring temperance campaigner, who had been at the helm for thirty-five years. It was primarily a one-person organization that had for thirty-five years revolved about the personality of the crusading Miss Landes who, according to Miss Gilbert, "always felt that the Society had a

special mission to perform in the building up of temperance sentiment in the young people going out to teach in the schools and to lead in the activities of their several communities, and to that end she labored unceasingly, giving of her time, her talent, and her energy without stint . . . . Her influence over the girls was strong and inspiring."

Neither Miss Sarah H. Gilbert, a cultured Quakeress, nor Miss Elsie Whittaker, were fitted for the crusading role played by Miss Landes. Very quietly the last meeting of the Y. P. B. of the W C T U was held on May 25, 1922, and the organization was permitted to expire.

THE YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION AND THE YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION

Five years after the founding of the Young Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Miss Hattie E. Dyer, State Secretary of the Young Women's Christian Association, made a request to confer with the faculty concerning the organization of a society in the Normal School. The matter was reported to a committee consisting of Misses Lyle, Landes, and Taylor. During the same month of October, Governor Beaver's son came to see Dr. Lyte about the organization of a Young Men's Christian Association. The faculty was cautious and moved slowly in the matter. A Young Men's Christian Association was organized on March 3, 1891, by twenty of the Normal School men. Before the end of the year the number had grown to sixty-nine.

From the very beginning regular devotional meetings were held every Sunday morning after breakfast and directly before the devotional exercises and compulsory Bible classes sponsored by the school. These Sunday morning prayer meetings consisted of scripture reading, speaking, and prayer, and were to continue during practically the entire existence of the Y M C A at Millersville. Public singing meetings were held with much success. The main emphasis from the very beginning was placed on Bible training and study courses in small groups. These Bible classes were conducted in addition to the large classes sponsored by the faculty and were conducted on a more intimate and personal basis.

Thirty girls organized the Y W C A as charter members with the aid of Hattie E. Dyer in April of 1891. Miss Euphan W. Macrae, a member of the faculty, was elected president. Nineteen additional members were admitted within a month of the organization date. The Y W C A held Sunday morning prayer meetings from the date of origin to the middle 1940's. Seven Bible training classes were established with about seven members each for a personal study of the Bible.

The object of the organization was stated to be as follows:

> The object of this association shall be to unite all students who desire to strengthen the spiritual life and influence of the school; to promote growth in Christian character and fellow-

ship, and aggressive Christian work, especially by and for students; to train its members for Christian service and to lead them to devote their lives to Jesus Christ where they can accomplish the most for the kingdom of God.

The organizations functioned primarily through the cabinet, which was made up of the officers and the heads of the committees of membership, religious meetings, Bible study, and missions. It was not long before the two organizations began to hold a number of meetings cooperatively. The traditional Sunday evening vesper services also became a joint enterprise of the Y's for the benefit of the whole student body. By the spring of 1893 regular Wednesday evening prayer meetings had been introduced into the work of the Y W C A. The Y M C A held prayer meeting on Tuesday and Thursday in addition to Sunday. "Most of these meetings are held in the students' rooms, and are marked by deep religious feeling." The number of mid-week prayer meetings finally setted down to one for each society.

It can hardly be said that there was a dearth of religious activity at the Normal School in the 1890's. According to the *Lancaster New Era* of September 29, 1891:

> Sunday is a very pleasant day for the students at Millersville State Normal School, there being several services to give interest to the day, and sufficient time besides for reading, walking or resting. In the morning immediately after the seven o'clock late breakfast it is the regular thing for both Christian Associations to hold a short prayer service to which all are invited who feel inclined to go. At nine o'clock the regular Bible classes meet at which all students are required to be present. These classes are very interesting; Dr. Lyte, Dr. Byerly, Dr. Hull, Dr. Bitner, Professor Albert, and Miss Lyle are the teachers.
>
> After this generally there are services at five churches in the village to which students are invited . . . On Sunday afternoon there was an extra service in the School which was delightful and very well attended. This was a gospel song service of one hour, conducted by the Young Men's and Young Women's Associations . . . . Mr. W. D. Apple, president of the Franklin and Marshall Association, made the address. It was earnest, interesting, and inspiring. The music was stirring.
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> In the evening the regular School Prayer Meeting is held at 7 o'clock. This generally lasts for an hour and a half and is in charge of Drs. Hull and Byerly, assisted by the students . . . In the rest of the time during the day walking on the lawn or in the village, reading, resting, or quiet talk fill up the time and with a half hour earlier than usual for retiring, the day, peaceful, restful and happy, seems all to short.

The more pious students refrained from studying on Sunday. The playing of musical instruments was forbidden on the Sabbath Day. Engaging in athletic activities was, of course, strictly forbidden. The "peaceful, restful", and meditative atmosphere sometimes did not furnish a sufficient outlet for the natural energy that was accumulating and waiting to be expended. As might be expected, the excess energy was sometimes vented in the form of disturbances of varying degrees of offensiveness in the prayer meetings, Bible classes, and even church services. It was not uncommon for prayer meetings to be policed by faculty members.

The Y's were not introduced to create a religious environment but rather to assist in perpetuating it. That there was a strong tide of religious sentiment in 1889 is evident from the following quotation from Reverend N. C. Fetter, a well-known preacher of the class of 1872, who came out from Lancaster on the horse car to spend Sunday, June 29, 1889, at the Old Normal:

> What a Sabbath we had together! What singing, what sympathy! There was nothing particular in the sermon [baccalaureate] to make the occasion what it was; but there was something in the social and spiritual atmosphere. The very presence and power of God seemed to prevail. That Sunday evening I attended prayer meeting. I shall never forget it: about one hundred ladies and almost as many gentlemen were present. There was a wonderful and impressive response to each moment of opportunity. The little talks were calm and sweet with simplicity. Doctors Lyte, Hull, Byerly, and several others of the teachers were there and took part. That young people's meeting was baptized with the power of the Holy Spirit. About thirty who had never before professed an interest in religion inquired what they should do to be saved, of whom four of five at least lovingly received Christ and entered quietly into the joy of a new life.

The correspondent of the Oxford Press was pleased with the conduct of the students during the 1889 commencement. Reverend Fetter apparently made an impression on the students and the "vigilance" of the faculty no doubt also was a factor in the quiet exodus. Instead of smashing furniture and tearing up rooms, the correspondent wrote that the students had a farewell sociable, a sort of "lovefeast," which was ended by singing the revival hymn, "God Be With You Till We Meet Again."

A strong tide of revival sentiment continued to run among some of the students until well into the period of the twenties. After the World War a distinct change became noticeable. The revival tones gradually diminished and the Y M C A's became service organizations with only an incidental and subdued interest in leading people to

Christ. The spirit of religion became less fervent and evangelism practically died out. During the World War II period the Y M C A and the Y W C A were merged in a new organization known as the Student Christian Association. Fellowship became the key word of the organization. The student religious activities on the campus are shared by the Student Christian Association and the recently established Newman Club for Catholic students.

The Y M C A and the Y W C A had rendered a useful service following their origin in 1891. The publication of a handbook for students was a valuable service continued from 1898 for more than a quarter of a century. Delegates were regularly sent to Northfield, Massachusetts, and elsewhere to conventions and were thus broadened in their understanding. Some of these delegates were away from the Lancaster area for the first time. The Y's did much work in promoting a spirit of wholesome fellowship and for years maintained Y rooms where students could meet informally under favorable circumstances. Sociables, receptions, musical organizations, lectures and other activities were sponsored. The Board of Trustees actively supported the program with fairly regularly contributions to the treasurers of the association. One of the most active periods following the administration of Dr. Lyte was that directly before World War I when the present Dean, Sanders McComsey, was President of the Y M C A.

STUDENT ORGANIZATIONS

During the first thirty-five years of Millersville's history, there was no encouragement of student government. Even the literary societies were thoroughly dominated by the faculty in their early years. This strict domination led to a student revolt in 1881 that shook the institution to its foundations, but the faculty and Trustees seemed to have learned little from the experience. For a time the severity of the rules was relaxed and the faculty was instructed to be more agreeable and more alert to the needs of the students. But there was no essential change in outlook. As soon as it was safe to do so the faculty returned to its former attitude, which might be considered a benevolent despotism. The faculty was accustomed to approving or rejecting the requests of the students with a finality and arbitrary authority that left no room for argument. In fact a considerable time later when a student argued the merits of card playing, he was suspended.

In 1882 a number of seniors made a request for a class organization, but the faculty did not desire that a class organization should be formed and, therefore, denied the right to organize. It was not until 1891 that the senior class formed an organization of its own. By 1897 the junior class had been permitted to elect officers and organize as a class. There was no general student government and apparently no encouragement in that direction. The Catalogs for years repeated

the same statement that "the method of government of the institution is based upon the sense of duty and the power of self control. More reliance is placed upon the principles of self-government than on positive rules or penalties attached to arbitrary restrictions." By self-government the authorities apparently meant "self-control" in the sense that the student did what was expected of him without the stimulus of punishment. In the words of the authorities, "It is assumed that each student who enters school understands and agrees to obey all regulations, and is disposed to do right." The reference to self-government above does not agree with the three pages of restrictions, some of them arbitrary, that follow the statement. The terminology of many of these restrictions had not changed since 1859 and neither had the spirit with which they were enforced.

There was little evidence of student government by 1900. Where student organizations existed the heavy hand of the faculty was everywhere evident. In fact, the Y W C T U and the Y W C A were noted for the regularity with which they elected faculty members to the office of president. Miss Amanda Landes, a strong-willed teacher, held the presidency of the Y W C T U for thirty-five years.

The most important work accomplished by the Senior Class was the publication of a Yearbook beginning with 1899. Until the twenties it was the custom of the faculty to carefully inspect the nominees for the offices connected with the Yearbook. In 1922 it appeared that the faculty selected the Yearbook officers from a list suggested by the Junior Class. This was a distinct advance over the previous method.

Perhaps the next step in student government, aside from the clubs, Y's, literary societies, and musical organizations, was the formation of a student senate to assist in the management of the boys' dormitories in 1913. The central governing body was called the "Student Senate" and was composed of six seniors, four juniors, three sophomores, and two freshmen. The representatives were elected by the several classes. It was reported that the Senate held regular meetings and "transacted business in accordance with good business procedure." "The girls of the school," the Catalog of 1914 reported, "are under the careful oversight of the Preceptress, Miss Anna Lyle, and the other lady teachers. An honest effort is constantly being made to care for and protect them as they would be cared for in the best home." The Senate apparently functioned as an additional police agency in the dormitories. Early in January, 1914, the Senate recommended twenty-five demerits and the temperance pledge for four boys who had imbibed intoxicating beverages more freely than was good for them. The Faculty discipline committee accepted the recommendation. This new form of student government was not a satisfactory type and Principal Harbold suspected that its membership operated too much on the basis of busy bodies.

A considerable time after the boys had attempted a form of dormitory government, the girls followed suit. In 1921 Miss Elizabeth H. Conard, Dean of Women, reported to the faculty that the girls were ready to install a student government in the dormitories. Shortly thereafter a "Student Government League" that was entirely a girls' organization was formed. It was recognized that "In recent years we have come to realize that good discipline can no longer be secured by mere force, but that an appeal must be made to the good sense and culture of the students involved." This was a well-considered and important statement. The executive body was known as the Student Council and was composed of representatives elected by the girls from each hall. Officers were elected by the student body. Meetings were held weekly with the Dean of Women as advisor. The Big Sister movement was established and a special effort was made to assist with the adjustment of all students, especially the newcomers. The next year, the president wrote

> The Council, which meets weekly, discusses and acts upon matters pertaining to conditions in the dormitories, discipline there and on the campus, and such affairs as are delegated to it. As yet the Council has failed to prove itself sufficiently capable to handle the more serious problems of the school. The organization is not strictly "student" but as it grows in ability to assume power, such power will be given to it.

The administration of the school emphasized that "Millersville's Government is that of cooperation between students and faculty," and went on the say that, "we believe this form of government develops in the student strength and self-dependence and that it is a valuable training for future responsibilities." As time went on, however, it was often difficult for faculty members to relinquish control in even relatively trivial matters.

When the Millersville State Normal School became the Millersville State Teachers College, the ladies were permitted to substitute the honor system in place of the proctor system in force previously. Another big step in advance was the formation of a Men's Student Association, composed of all dormitory men, and a Men's Student Council to represent that group in the session of 1929-1930. A previous men's organization in 1913 known as the "Student Senate" had gradually faded out of the picture.

There were now two separate Student Councils, one for the boys and one for the girls. This was in line with the traditional policy of separation of the sexes. However, mixed dances had been held since 1921,[5] although some students complained that boys and girls were

[5] *Minutes of the Faculty*, April 18, 1921, p. 146. Dr. Hull had held out against dancing, and there was still a strong enough repugnance to the idea in 1921 to require a secret ballot on the part of the faculty.

not permitted to dance closer to their partners than a safe "shouting distance." Nevertheless the ice had been broken and progress was being made. On the matter of student government it was reasonable to expect that growth might be slow, and that an institution which had forged ahead on many fronts (sometimes by compulsion) could not be expected to forge ahead on all fronts. A reorganization occurred in the Ladies' student government in 1930 and a new Women's Community Association was organized in place of the S. G. L. It was still a dormitory organization, but they had pledged themselves to assist the day students in forming a substantial organization of their own.

During the 1932-1933 term the men day students organized a student government association with a set of officers. Their first accomplishment was the securing of a day study room leaving the other study room free for lunch and recreation.

The movement toward a unified student government was slowly creeping ahead. After 1921 a ladies' dormitory government, a boys' dormitory government, a girls' day student government, and a boys' day student government had been organized. It remained for the four separate organizations to join their resources and interests into one student organization. By 1934 the four separate organizations and the faculty were working together and formed the governing unit for the main part of all the extra-curricular activities which were carried on by the college.

Changes and refinements occurred in the student government, but it was the contention of many students that the faculty still dominated the scene. An examination of the Student Council Government of 1942-1943 indicates that standing committees were made up of both students and faculty members, selected in a cumbersome manner, with student chairmen. There were committees in the fields of Finance, Athletics, Entertainment, Publicity, Social Relations, Freshmen Orientation, Elections, and Intramurals. For a number of years some of the students believed that these committees were dominated by the faculty members. There was particular objection to such alleged faculty domination on the Finance and Entertainment Committees. The allocation of the Activity Fund[6] was in the hands of the Finance Committee. As alleged by some of the students, the faculty members of these committees practically decided on the allocations. The Student Council then considered the allocations made to the various extra-curricular activities, but generally did not, or felt that it could not, oppose the decisions of the Finance Committee. Likewise for years, students have been under the impression that the faculty members

[6] The Activity Fee is collected by the officers of the College and deposited since 1933 in a special Activity Fund to support athletics, the school paper, the yearbook, and other student activities. The first fee of this type appears to have been collected in 1925 for the support of the school paper, *The Snapper*.

dominated the selection of assembly programs that were paid out of funds contributed by the students under compulsion. Whether the impressions are true or not, and the question appears to be an open one, those impressions exist as a problem of student government.

From the student point of view, an improvement was made in 1947 when the new constitution provided for student committees and separate faculty committees, thus removing the continual suspicion on the part of the students that they were being controlled by the faculty members on the committees. The decision as to whether a standing committee should be faculty or student rested with the President of the College and the Student Council meeting jointly. The same complaints on the part of some of the students concerning assembly programs continued and so-called "opera singers" at "fancy fees" "paid by the students" continued to appear. There was a distinct improvement from the student point of view, however, in the matter of handling the finances. "The Student Council shall have the power to propose allocations of student activity funds . . . ", as stated in the Constitution of 1947. A refusal on the part of the faculty to accept the student allocations was still possible, but the major initiative now rested with the students. These honest differences of opinion between faculty and students are common to many schools that are struggling to build a more democratic school society.

The precise allocations of student activity funds are of interest in a study of student government. For 1950-1951 they are as follows on a basis of $12.50 per semester:

	Semester		
Athletics	$ 6.20	Publicity	$ .25
Entertainment	1.30	Intra-Murals	.20
Yearbook	.50	Classes	.30
Dramatics	.25	Literary Societies	.25
Music	.75	Library of Literary Societies	.25
Snapper (Paper)	.75	Clubs	.25
Student Council	.40	Handbook	.20
Finance Committee	.25	Civic Organizations	.40
Total Per Semester			$12.50

A fine compliment that can be paid to democratic student government at Millersville is the fact that the students on their own initiative were permitted to manage as their own exclusive project the old gym as a recreational center. The students have installed a lunch bar on a concession basis and have made other improvements for their own convenience. Much progress in student government has been achieved and the evident spirit of cooperation on the part of both students and the faculty indicates that growth will continue.

CLUBS AND OTHER ACTIVITIES

Clubs as we know them today appear to have come into existence with the Camera Club organized by Professor Bitner on January 26, 1898. There were forty-one members with Dr. Bitner as President, Anna D. Beitzel as Secretary, and Miss Sarah H. Gilbert of the faculty as Treasurer.

The only other organizations of sufficient importance to be mentioned in *The Wickersham* of 1899 (Yearbook) that have not already been dealt with were a Military Company, captained by Amos Kauffman, the choir of fifty-two members, and a band of fifteen members. The military company had been organized a few years earlier and had helped to whip up the Spanish American War hysteria at the Normal School. Bands had existed from time to time at the Normal School but did not appear to be permanent organizations. Choirs and Glee Clubs had always existed in some form or other from the very beginning. Dr. Brooks and Dr. Lyte led these organizations and sometimes displayed their talents before the county institutes.

The Commencement exercises might be regarded as a student activity, since very little outside talent was utilized. Orations, recitations, essays, and musical selections made up the bulk of the commencement programs from 1855 on. In 1856 the commencement addresses and essays delivered by the eighteen readers and speakers required fifty-eight pages to print. By 1892 the commencement exercises had grown to two sessions, the morning session extending from 9:30 a. m. to 12:20 p. m. and the afternoon session extending from 2:20 p. m. to 5:30 p. m. Twenty-four student orations averaging ten to twelve minutes were delivered. The faculty was of the opinion that the exercises were somewhat too long and that eighteen orations were better than twenty-four. Apparently the commencement exercises were somewhat reduced, for a few years later the *New Era,* after listing all the orations, mentioned in its news column that "for want of time" only eighteen orations were delivered. Class days, musical and elocutionary entertainment, oratorical contests, alumni meetings, and other activities consumed several days at the close of the year.

In 1921 the new style of commencement exercise with a prominent speaker superseded the numerous student orations, essays, poems, and recitations. Another honored tradition had outlived its usefulness and was discarded.

The multiplicity of clubs and activities of all kinds that we consider a part of a modern teachers college program seems to have more or less suddenly burst forth in the 1920's at the Millersville State Normal School. Very few of these numerous activities and clubs have the spirit of the old literary societies. Any one organization appears to be only one of many. Interests are scattered and the student's devotion to the literary societies, to the teachers, and to the school itself

that existed in the nineteenth century is today largely a matter of history.

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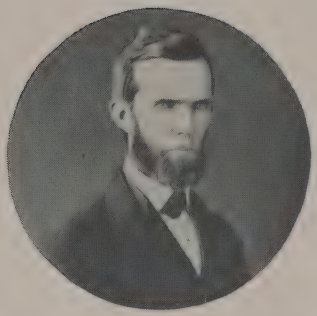

DR. JAMES PYLE WICKERSHAM
Principal
The Millersville State Normal School
1855 — 1866

DR. D. L. BIEMESDERFER
President
The Millersville State Teachers College
1943 —

"Science Hall" and lake appear in semi-isolation on this early twentieth century scene.

"Ladies' Building" 1900 — 1905

Hardly a person is now alive who remembers this view of Shank's Lane (Lovers' Haven).

Page Literary Society Orchestra in the 1913 — 1915 period.

Members of the baseball team and fans
on an outing in the "Gay Nineties"

The often recalled football squad of 1892;
Coach A. D. Pinkham at upper right.

Gridiron huskies in 1899 experiment
with the flying wedge formation.

1903 Varsity Basketball Squad.

The then designated "Domestic Department"
in the 1895 — 1905 era

Photos to the right are:

TOP:

1898 version of Millersville S. N. S. Band.

MIDDLE:

1909 Memorial Day celebration at M. S. N. S.

BOTTOM:

Bird's eye view of M. S. N. S. in 1901.

The Normal School kitchen and staff
in the year 1913

Until mid-twentieth century Millersville's dining room maintained this basic appearance. The photo was taken before the turn of the century.